

N<sup>o</sup>. 47.

THE  
**CHRISTIAN EXAMINER**  
AND  
**GENERAL REVIEW.**

NEW SERIES — N<sup>o</sup>. XVII.

NOVEMBER, 1831.

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE	ART.	PAGE
I. FEMALE WRITERS ON UNITARIANISM . . . . .	139	VI. RECENT EVENTS IN GENEVA . . . . .	225
1. A View of the general Tenor of the New Testament regarding the Nature and Dignity of Jesus Christ. By JOANNA BAILLIE.		Exposé Historique, &c. Historical Account of the Discussions between the Company of the Pastors of Geneva, and M. Gaussen, one of its Members, on occasion of a Point of Ecclesiastical Discipline. Accompanied by Documents.	
2. Religious Prejudice overcome, by a careful Examination of the Old and New Testament. By MRS. CHARLES TOOGOOD.		VII. SALEM WITCHCRAFT . . . . .	240
3. The Essential Faith of the Universal Church; deduced from the Sacred Records. By HARRIET MARTINEAU.		Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem in 1692. By CHARLES W. UPHAM.	
II. WALSH'S NOTICES OF BRAZIL . . . . .	150	VIII. BIGELOW'S TRAVELS . . . . .	259
Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829. By the Rev. R. WALSH.		Travels in Malta and Sicily, with Sketches of Gibraltar, in 1827. By ANDREW BIGELOW.	
III. FOX'S SERMONS . . . . .	168	IX. GODWIN'S THOUGHTS ON MAN . . . . .	263
Christ and Christianity: Sermons on the Mission, Character, and Doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth. By W. J. FOX.		Thoughts on Man, his Nature, Productions, and Discoveries. Interspersed with some Particulars respecting the Author. By WILLIAM GODWIN.	
IV. UNITARIANISM VINDICATED AGAINST THE CHARGE OF SKEPTICAL TENDENCIES . . . . .	178	X. GRIFFIN'S REMAINS . . . . .	270
V. PROFESSION OF RELIGION . . . . .	195	Remains of the Rev. EDMUND D. GRIFFIN, compiled by FRANCIS GRIFFIN: with a Biographical Memoir of the Deceased, by the Rev. JOHN M'VICKAR, D. D.	
A Liturgy for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel in Boston. Third Edition, with Alterations and Additions.			

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## NOTICE.

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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

N<sup>o</sup>. XLVII.

NEW SERIES — N<sup>o</sup>. XVII.

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NOVEMBER, 1831.

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- ART I. — 1. *A View of the general Tenor of the New Testament regarding the Nature and Dignity of Jesus Christ ; including a Collection of the various Passages in the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, which relate to that Subject.* By JOANNA BAILLIE. London, 1831. 8vo. pp. 146.
2. *Religious Prejudice overcome, by a careful Examination of the Old and New Testament ; a serious Address to Christian Professors.* By MRS. CHARLES TOOGOOD. Dorchester and London. 8vo. pp. 59.
3. *The Essential Faith of the Universal Church ; deduced from the Sacred Records.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. London. 1831. 8vo. pp. 88.

WE regard with much interest the simultaneous appearance of these three books. They are small in size, but they lead the mind to important conclusions.

Two of these works, one of which is by a lady of high rank in the literary world, are examinations of Scripture testimony on the nature and dignity of Christ. Both result in Unitarianism ; in a conviction that the long revered doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is not to be found in the Sacred Writings. They are not indeed the only instances of such an investigation terminating in the same result ; but they are new and valuable testimonials to the truth of the assertion invariably made by Unitarians, that their faith is not only the most rational but the most scriptural too. They are in-

stances of the examination of Scripture evidence, conducted not by Unitarians, nor by persons inclined to be Unitarians, but by those whose prepossessions were in favor of the orthodox doctrines, so called, in which they had been brought up, which they had been accustomed to hear from the pulpit, and which were generally entertained by society about them; but who were nevertheless compelled, by the silence of the Bible on the subject of a Trinity, to renounce it altogether, and to rest in the belief that there is but one Supreme Being in one Person. No worldly motive could probably have exercised an influence over their inquiries. Neither fame nor emolument is any where attached to the profession of Unitarianism; and in Edinburgh and Dorchester, as well as most other places in the world, it is far from being a popular or *fashionable* form of religion. With exceedingly few exceptions, it is, on the contrary, every where spoken against, and looked down upon. Now we say, that if in the instances before us, as in others, a close and candid investigation of the language of Scripture has led to the belief of a doctrine which is unpatronized and vilified, and to the consequent rejection of a doctrine which is established and in repute, then we, who hold the former of these doctrines, the unpatronized and vilified one, have a right to complain of those who charge us with disrespect and disregard of Scripture, and to claim from them more courtesy and more charity. We have a right, moreover, to speak with some confidence when we appeal to Scripture ourselves, and when we request others to search the Scripture.

Again, it is to be considered that the writers of all three of these works are ladies. We regard this fact as a sufficient refutation of a charge, commonly enough advanced against our opinions, that they are unfriendly in their character to the tenderness, susceptibility, and affectionate gentleness, which are peculiarly the moral beauties of the female sex. We have always denied the truth of this charge. Unitarians have always maintained that their views are as favorable to the exercise of the warmest and best affections, as are any other views of Christianity whatever. Instances in proof of this have never been wanting. We are now able to add three remarkable ones to their number. Miss Baillie's 'Plays on the Passions' have been long and well known as among the best in the language. No one who reads them can entertain



any doubt of the character of the writer's affections. Such works could never have been dictated by a cold heart. Miss Martineau, but lately known to us as a writer, and with a fame much more limited than that of Miss Baillie, has, by her '*Traditions of Palestine, or Times of the Saviour,*' taken a strong hold on the feelings of all who are acquainted with that beautiful volume. She has shown that she is one of those to whom God has confided the golden key which unlocks the fountain of tears. The depth, purity, and holiness of the affections of such a writer cannot be questioned. Of Mrs. Toogood we only know, that at the age of eighty-one, she has published a religious pamphlet, replete with pious sentiments, and the fruits of much biblical reading. This fact is a sufficient indication of affections, which, like those of the late Mrs. Barbauld, age has no power to chill. We cannot acknowledge, therefore, for an instant, that Unitarianism is in itself unfavorable to the warmest and best emotions of the female heart, when we see it received and cherished in hearts like these.

Such were our reflections, when the works which form the subject of this article were placed in our hands. We have stated them briefly and simply; but we think they deserve the serious attention of those who are apt to suspect our faith of a want of Scriptural foundation, or lay to its charge a benumbing influence on the pious and gentle affections of the soul. We will now proceed to give a short notice of each of these works in turn.

Mrs. Baillie's volume consists chiefly of a collection of passages from the New Testament, the book of the Revelation excepted, which bear in any way on the subject of the nature of Christ. Twelve pages are occupied with some preliminary observations; then come the quotations from Scripture, which extend to page 122; and twenty-four pages of remarks and notes conclude the book. The quotations are from the common version, without alteration or comment. Every thing relating to the subject is brought forward, as we should think, with entire and undeviating impartiality. No criticism is attempted, or even alluded to. Even the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John v. 7, is printed in its usurped place, without a single word said of the almost utter want of evidence for its genuineness and authority. Now, we have no idea that any thing like a thorough knowledge of

Scripture can be acquired without some knowledge of Scripture criticism; and yet there are so many who are alarmed, the instant that the words, criticism, manuscript, or original language, are uttered, that Miss Baillie's method is, for common inquirers, undoubtedly the best. It is best calculated to disarm prejudice, to quiet fear, and to produce a candid examination. Either way will satisfy us; whether it be learned or unlearned, with a critical apparatus or without one. Only let the Scriptures, in any translation, be examined candidly and patiently, while preconceived opinions are for the occasion laid aside, and kept as much as possible out of sight, and we are willing to trust to the issue. We protest, however, against such a book as Scott's Bible, unless some other commentary, supporting opposite views, be studied with it. Prejudice will only be strengthened by the perusal of a work so sectarian in its character, and so dogmatical in its judgments. Let us have fair criticism, a comparison of criticisms, or no criticism at all. Miss Baillie proceeds on the principle, that it is unnecessary to resort to criticism at all, in order to arrive at the general meaning of Scripture concerning the nature of Christ. Be it so. But let not the unlearned inquirer rely altogether even on her collection of testimony, impartial as it is. Let him rather do as she did. Let him read the Scriptures himself, with serious attention; and let him make his own collection, as impartially as she has made hers. He will thus become acquainted, as he goes along, with the connexion of each passage, and obtain a clearer view of the meaning of the whole than if he had contented himself with insulated quotations alone, however fairly brought together. We cannot believe that the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity will stand the test of such a process.

The concluding remarks of Miss Baillie are remarkable for their plain good sense, and for their truly Christian temper. The following apology for her use of the term *sects*, is just what it ought to be, and shows her superiority to the narrowness of those who are apt to talk of the church to which they belong as the only true church of Christ, and of an 'established church,' as established by God and not by man.

'No offence, I hope, will be taken at the use I here make of the term *sects*, which is commonly applied to a smaller number of Christians as distinguished from a greater, whose tenets are supported by the law of the land. I use it here in a wider

sense, as divisions of that church which consists of every believer who receives the New Testament as the word of God, — the Greek, the Roman, the Lutheran, the English, the Presbyterian, with the various subdivisions, occasioned by dissenters from each. All established churches are such only regarding the country by whose laws they are upheld; regarding Christianity at large they are not so, and may then with propriety be designated sects.' — p. 123.

Miss Baillie, as might be expected, is perfectly open in stating the doctrine which she herself has derived from the study of the English Bible. It is that which is usually denominated the Arian, which supposes Christ 'to be a most highly exalted being, who was with God before the creation of the world, and by whose agency it probably was created, by power derived from Almighty God.' With regard to the form of belief which she denominates the Socinian, she says, 'It seems at variance with so many plain passages of Scripture, that it cannot, I should think, by those who view the subject in the simple way here recommended, be considered as standing upon any solid foundation.'

Here we differ considerably from Miss Baillie. In the simplest way possible of reading the Scriptures, there are so many places in which our Saviour is expressly called a man, and so few in which he seems to be called any thing else, that it appears to us rather a hasty saying, to assert that the doctrine of his humanity is destitute of 'any solid foundation.' And the knowledge of a little criticism, admitted on all hands to be correct and fair, would inform that lady, or any one else, that the creation of the world which is ascribed to Christ in the Scriptures, is not so decidedly the creation of the material and natural world, as she has assumed it to be. Neither do we agree with her in thinking that the Arian and Humanitarian forms of belief are 'far, far apart.' We really cannot see, and never have been able to see, the very important difference between believing Jesus Christ to be an angel, even the greatest of angels, and believing him to have been of that race which God made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honor. The great difference lies between the strict Trinitarian and any form of Unitarian belief. If Christ is God, he is infinitely above any created being. If he is a created being, of whatever rank, he is, in nature, at an infinite distance from the One Supreme. We

mean not to enter on this question. We care not to shake the faith of Arians in their peculiar doctrines. But we think it time that both Arians and Humanitarians should agree that the real difference between them is slight; and that Arians should cease to look upon Humanitarianism as a low and cold belief, and Humanitarians should cease to speak of Arianism as mystical and absurd, and akin to the doctrine of the Trinity. For the simple truth is, that in all essential particulars, one form of Unitarianism is as distant from Trinitarianism as another. We look on both forms of the great doctrine which maintains the strict divine unity, with respect. We believe that both are consistent with the deepest reverence of God, and with the most affectionate and grateful regards toward his son Jesus Christ.

We do not intend, however, to impute to Miss Baillie any harshness or unfairness toward the believers in any system of religious faith. The charity which breathes throughout her volume is worthy of praise and imitation. It is to advance the interests of the same charity, that we have said what we have said.

One more extract from her concluding remarks will furnish a good specimen of the temper and reasoning of her work.

‘Lastly, let us consider the doctrine of faith which has set Christians at variance more than any other, particularly in the present day. That faith alone effects our salvation without works, but must still have its sincerity proved by works, or that faith producing good works, or in conjunction with good works procures the same blessed result, is a subtle distinction, works being necessary and faith also necessary to him who embraces either opinion. And would the preachers of faith not put works out of sight by forbearing to mention them at all, or mentioning them slightly, and were the preachers of works more zealous in inculcating that gratitude and piety by which the highest and purest morality is produced and cherished, it would be of little consequence on which side of the question any one might range himself.

‘There seems to be a kind of humility in supposing that we can do nothing for ourselves, and this has often won converts to the first mentioned notion of faith. But what is pride and what is humility in relation to man with his Maker? Every thing we possess we derive from him; and he who bows down his reason and calls himself a worm of the earth, has not a stronger sense of the infinite perfection of Almighty God, or of



the immeasurable distance between the Creator and the created, than he who gratefully prizes his own powers of mind, which enable him in some degree to perceive the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Deity in his varied works, — prizes them the more as being the generous gift of the beneficent Lord of all. Humility and pride are terms which properly relate to man as connected with fellow men. It is that disposition which makes a man willing to allow the merits of others, and to think himself inferior to them, and ready to condescend to those who are his inferiors, that is properly humility ; it is that disposition which assumes superiority over others, and disregards the wrong and distress occasioned by it, which is properly called pride. Do we honor God by depreciating the noblest of his works with which we have any means of being acquainted, — a rational soul ? Such an idea monks and fanatics may entertain, but does it become those who have had the sacred Scripture spread freely before them ? Who have therein contemplated the most exalted, beautiful, and generous of all characters — our blessed Saviour ? Who have considered the main tenor of his pure and excellent precepts, the promises and hopes vouchsafed for our encouragement, and his perfect, animating, and noble example ? — pp. 138 – 140.

Mrs. Toogood's work is of a much more critical and controversial character than Miss Baillie's, and yet it is not at all deficient, so far as we can perceive, in kindness and charity. The liveliness and discrimination which mark her pages, would, under any circumstances, be observable ; but, after reading the first page of her Introduction, they appear wonderful.

‘ The following observations were written at several intervals of comparative ease, afforded me during a time of otherwise intense pain and suffering, the effects of a long and dangerous illness ; in the course of which, I was brought, to all appearance, very near the close of my mortal career. The sentiments which I now entertain, and which I wish to publish for the benefit of others, were then the grand prop of my fainting spirits ; and I can recur to them with joyful hope, that they will again be my support when flesh and heart are failing, and the will of my Heavenly Father shall be done in removing me hence. I feel it to be an imperious duty, which I owe to that Almighty Friend, who so wonderfully sustained me under the excruciating pains I endured, and who has given me the power of extolling and blessing his name, thus to show my gratitude, for this as

well as innumerable other instances of his paternal care of me, during a long pilgrimage of *eighty-one years* on earth.'—p. iii.

The plan of this lady in her work, is to take up the most striking passages which refer, or are supposed to refer, to Christ, both in the Old and New Testaments, and make her comments upon them in their order. This plan is entirely different from that pursued by Miss Baillie, and both have their peculiar advantages. As a specimen of Mrs. Toogood's controversial ability, we take the following passage at random.

'Much has been made by those who take their doctrine from the common translation, of that passage in the Philippians, where it is said that Christ thought it no robbery *to be equal with God*. But it must appear to every dispassionate mind that the object of the passage is to teach *self-denial* from the *example* of our blessed Master: to make himself *equal* with God could therefore be no instance of self-denial; and moreover it would be a contradiction of our Lord's own sayings when the Jews were about to stone him, under the false pretence that he had assumed this high honor. Archbishop Newcome has rendered it, "did not esteem it a prey to be like God." The meaning of which is, that he did not make an *ostentatious display* of those supernatural and miraculous powers which made him appear like a God, though these might have represented him to the wondering multitude, who beheld his astonishing miracles, *in the form* (or likeness) of a God. The word *equal* is one, of which it seems the original does not admit, and therefore the translators were not justified in using it. In the benevolent exercise of his miraculous powers afforded him by God, our Saviour acted as the representative of the Being who is the fountain of all goodness. Though thus high in favor and enjoying such authority under "the King eternal, immortal, and invisible," yet he humbled himself to the condition of a servant, became obedient to death, even the death of the cross: and as a reward for this voluntary humiliation he was exalted, (not by his own power and authority,) but "God highly exalted him and gave him a name above every name, that *in* the name of Jesus every knee should bow," "and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." It will, I think, be discovered by every one who attentively reads this passage even in the common translation, that it could never be intended to inculcate any other doctrine than that Christ *derived* all his powers from his Father; but it is surely worth the trouble for any person who considers the value of religion, to hear what other translators have said upon the subject.'—pp. 29, 30.

The same acquaintance with Scripture language and criticism which is shown in the above extract, is manifested throughout this vigorous pamphlet; the writer being upwards of fourscore years of age! A touching simplicity distinguishes her farewell to her readers.

‘I have now to take leave of my readers with the earnest hope, that under the divine blessing, what I have written may be useful in leading them to that course which has yielded me so much comfort and hope. Since the period of my conversion from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism, I have followed the example of the Bereans, in “searching the Scriptures daily,” to see whether the opinions I have adopted, are according to the truth: and I can assure them that my convictions have been more and more confirmed therein, every time I have consulted the word of God. Under this impression I could not resist the strong impulse I felt, to impart the benefit I have enjoyed to others. The Bible is alike open to all; it is calculated to afford a similar blessing to all. Unconscious of any sectarian spirit, I hope such will not be attributed to me. Truth is my only object, believing that, “if we know the truth, it will make us free.” Nevertheless I have no doubt that opinions so much misrepresented as those I have adopted, often are, will bring down severe reprehension from those whose *prejudices* are mis-called *opinions*; and whether I shall live to see or feel their contempt or not, I hereby assure them that I have “so learned Christ,” as freely to forgive them. I would wish also to excuse them by recurring to my own feelings, before I shook off the dominion of prejudice, though, blessed be God, I was incapable of malice or rancor. My prayer is, that the reading hereof may be succeeded with a divine blessing to them and to all others; and that all may be brought to think, that the Scriptures alone contain the words of eternal life, and whatever else is taught as doctrine, is the word of *man*, and not of *God*.’ — pp. 56, 57.

The work of Miss Martineau, though particularly addressed to Roman Catholics, may be read with profit and pleasure by the members of any other communion. In beauty of writing it much surpasses the other two works. Once or twice we thought the style a little too artificial and ambitious, but, with these exceptions, it is, while eloquent and ornate, in excellent taste. The poetical feeling and imagination, and the gentle tone and spirit which pervade this book, together with

the Scriptural and historical knowledge which it evinces, make the reading of it a continual entertainment of the purest kind.

Miss Martineau is as open in the expression of her belief in the Humanitarian doctrine as Miss Baillie is of hers in the Arian. In this connexion the following paragraph must speak for itself.

‘It cannot be necessary for Christians, when addressing Christians, to enter upon the evidence for the divine authority under which the Saviour offered his Gospel, or for the consequent divine origin of that Gospel. The name adopted by both parties is a sufficient testimony to the unity of their faith thus far. Concerning the nature of Christ, we have already declared that, in accordance with what we believe to have been the faith of the primitive ages, we regard the Saviour as human in his nature; but superhuman in his powers, and divinely appointed and sanctioned in his office. The title “Son of God” is peculiarly and indefeasibly his own; for to no other being, as far as our knowledge extends, has so immeasurable a portion of authority, of power, of grace and truth, been vouchsafed; in no other has dwelt “all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.” The homage of reverence cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who was with God in His manifest presence; who was one with Him in his purposes of eternal salvation to the human race; who was the exponent of those purposes, and the means of that salvation. The homage of love cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who suffered for our transgressions, and died for our justification; who loved us with more than an earthly love; who suffered in his compassion for the sins and sorrows of men, as well as in the inflictions he sustained for their sakes; and who, though wounded in spirit and tortured in body, made use of the rule, authority, and power with which he was invested, not for his own relief, but for our deliverance. To him who brought us salvation, it is little to offer deep gratitude and unbounded love. The homage of obedience cannot be too fully and freely rendered to him who was wise with the wisdom of God, pure in heart, sinless in his life, and sanctified by grace from the beginning. Even if we did not know that obedience to Christ is the way to life eternal, that obedience would be due to his divine claims: but knowing this, it should be steadfast as our faith, cheerful as our hope, and boundless as our love. Such was the obedience, such were the reverence and love of the holy Apostles; and we desire to participate in them as fully as we join, with heart and mind, in all that they have said concerning him. They bow



before his celestial authority, — so do we. They venerate his perfect holiness, — so do we. They bless his love, testified in his sufferings, sealed by his death, and glorified by his resurrection, — so do we. They strove to be obedient in all things, — and we acknowledge the obligation incumbent on us to be so likewise ; and that we may be so, we diligently inquire what were the doctrines which he confirmed and revealed.' — pp. 7, 8.

The following portion of the conclusion of this volume, on the intrinsic universality and power of the Christian religion, cannot fail to be received by our readers with pleasure, and will no doubt excite in them a desire, which we ourselves entertain, that the work may be speedily republished here.

'The universal spread of Glad Tidings is a fit subject for universal rejoicing. The moral beauty of the Saviour's character is recognisable by all ; the spirit of his teachings is congenial to all ; and the very illustrations in which they are set forth are of an universal nature. Storms every where beat on human dwellings, and in all regions flowers spring, and the lights of heaven shine and are obscured. The filial and fraternal relations subsist every where ; widowed mothers mourn over the bier of a son, and rejoicings are witnessed at marriage feasts. The parables of the Gospel are the most appropriate elementary teachings for all minds from pole to pole ; and the principles which Christ proposed command the assent of every intellect, from that of the child whom he set in the midst of his followers, to that which, exalted by all holy influences, is surrounded on its release from the grave by a throng of perfected spirits. It is for man to beware how he limits what God has thus made universal ; how he monopolizes what God designs to be diffused ; how he encumbers by human inventions that truth which divine wisdom has made free to all.

'By the Gospel, a new relation is established between Him who gives and him who receives it ; and it is for man to beware how he attempts to modify this relation, or to intrude on the special communion which it establishes. It is not in the power of man to take away any thing from the Gospel, though he may narrow the capacity of its recipients ; but he must beware how he adds to it the teachings of his own low and vain imaginations. He can do nothing to impair divine truth, for it is made invulnerable by God : but he may impair and destroy its efficacy for himself and his brethren, by mistaking its nature and perverting its influences ; by transferring to others the task which he may not delegate, of admitting its evidences and interpreting its commands. It is not in the power of man

to silence the voice of God speaking on earth through Christ ; but he must beware of listening to any other exponent of the divine will, whether or not he refer his claim to St. Peter ; whether or not he appeal to human wisdom, throned in the papal chair or attested by the unanimity of Councils ; whether or not he entitle himself the Vicar of Christ on earth.

'It is not in the power of man to restrict the influences of the Gospel. What they have been, they will be ; what they have done, they will continue to effect. They will bless the spirit in its wanderings and in its retirements, making the universe the record of its history, and its inmost recesses the dwelling-place of Deity. They will restrain the excesses, chasten the emotions, and ennoble the sympathies of humanity. They will bless life and hallow the grave. They will develop themselves perpetually as ages roll on, till it shall be their lowest office to still the sighings and subdue the conflicts of the spirit ; while their highest shall still be, so to direct its pursuit of ultimate objects, so to invigorate its natural and moral powers, as to evidence to itself its ever-growing resemblance to its Maker. It is for man to beware lest he exclude himself from these influences or impair their operation by mistaking superstition for religion, and by supinely relinquishing the intellectual and spiritual liberty with which Christ has made him free.' pp. 87, 88.

One more word before we leave these volumes. We cannot resist the impression that they are auspicious signs of the advancement of a free, liberal, serious, rational, or, in short, pure Christianity among men. We feel sure, also, that they will contribute to that advancement which they so cheerfully betoken.

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ART. II. — *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829.* By REV. R. WALSH, LL. D., M. R. I. A., Author of 'A Journey from Constantinople,' &c. &c. &c. Boston, 1831. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 290 and 299.

To one who is acquainted with the history of South America, the very name of Brazil possesses a romantic charm. It carries him back to those early days when that vast region was inhabited only by hordes of wandering savages. It reminds him of the deep feelings of astonishment with which

its shores were first surveyed by European eyes ; of the spirit of adventure, the courage, the endurance, and the perseverance which animated the early adventurers who explored it ; of their dreams of gold and their tales of wonder, of giants and pigmies, Amazons and anthropophagi. It calls up to his recollection the worse than savage cruelties which were perpetrated upon its native inhabitants ; the slavery, more cruel than death, to which they were subjected ; and the untiring exertions of the Jesuits to protect these persecuted tribes, and to bestow on them the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

Nor is it merely on account of the past that Brazil is interesting. The country in its present situation possesses stronger and more direct claims on our attention. No one can cast even a hasty glance on the map of this continent without being struck with the vast extent of the Brazilian territory, embracing, as it does, two fifths of South America, and larger, it is said, than the whole of Europe. In richness and variety of natural productions it is perhaps exceeded by no country in the world. It is, in truth, what its historian\* has called it, " the finest region of the whole habitable globe." Its plains, its rivers, its mountains, and its forests are prodigal in animal and vegetable life. Diamonds and gold, and the no less valuable mineral iron, are found beneath its soil in boundless profusion ; and yet the nature and extent of its mineral resources are very imperfectly known. Its vast length of sea-coast, with its convenient harbours, give it great advantages for foreign commerce ; while its numerous rivers apparently offer every facility for intercourse between the coast and the interior. The climate is in most parts healthy and agreeable. It is sufficiently obvious, that this country with which our commercial intercourse is rapidly increasing, and which already produces some of the staples of our states in great abundance, may hereafter become a valuable friend in some branches of trade, and a formidable rival in others. If the inhabitants of Brazil should ever become a moral, cultivated, and enterprising people, subject to a good government and good laws, they would soon be one of the most flourishing and powerful nations which the world has ever known.

Dr. Walsh, we think, has performed a valuable service in

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\* Southey.

the information which he has given concerning Brazil. He is already known to the reading public by his "*Journey from Constantinople*," in which he gives an account of some countries which have not often been traversed by intelligent travellers. That work has been extremely popular, both in Great Britain\* and this country; and we think the present is likely to become so. Dr. Walsh seems to enjoy all those dispositions and powers of mind and body which fit a man for a traveller. He appears to be always in good health and spirits, and to possess strength to endure every fatigue which his curiosity prompts him to undergo. His mind is active and inquisitive; while his cheerfulness and sociability enable him to obtain freely that information which would be withheld from a traveller of a different temperament. He is a close observer of the manners and habits of the people among whom he travels, yet always judges them with candor and kindness. He has a keen relish for the beauties of nature and art, and describes them with judgment and spirit. In every thing which he presents to the reader, whether it be descriptions of natural scenery, accounts of his personal adventures, or sketches of the modes of life of the inhabitants of the country, he possesses the rare talent of giving an exact representation of the impression made upon his own mind by the objects which attract his attention. This talent spreads a constant glow of life and spirit over his pages. Besides, his kind and benevolent feelings, which show themselves in every part of the work, in the most unaffected manner, render his volumes highly attractive. His speculations do not exhibit him merely as a cold political economist, but as an ardent and sincere Christian, who feels a strong interest in the welfare of his fellow creatures. The work throughout maintains a moral tone of sentiment, which is the more gratifying when contrasted with the disregard of all moral distinctions which pervades too many books of travels.

Dr. Walsh gives us sufficient of his personal adventures to preserve his reader's interest in him, and maintain the unity of the work, which a book of travels is too apt to lose when it becomes a mere series of unconnected disquisitions on different subjects. He is careful, however, on the other hand, not to disgust us by dwelling on petty circumstances which

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\* A fourth edition of this work has lately been published in London.



are of no consequence to any one but the writer. The details which he sometimes gives are not introduced because they relate to himself, but because they tend to illustrate the state of the country through which he is travelling, and the manners of its inhabitants.

In the year 1828, Viscount Strangford went to Brazil as Ambassador Extraordinary from Great Britain. Dr. Walsh accompanied him as chaplain. It was on this occasion that the work before us was prepared. Besides the notices of Brazil, the volumes contain an account of the voyage to Rio Janeiro, some particulars respecting Madeira, at which island our author and his fellow voyagers landed on their passage, and an account of the voyage on their return to England. Dr. Walsh, from his situation in the British embassy, enjoyed peculiar advantages for obtaining information concerning Brazil. These advantages he has diligently improved. On many subjects his knowledge appears to be extensive, accurate, and well digested. The general appearance of the country through which he travelled, its climate, diseases, agriculture, and commerce, the amusements, education, literature, and religion of the people, the administration of justice, and the recent history of Brazil, all attract his attention, and all are rendered entertaining or instructive to the reader. We are not aware of any work which presents so full and clear, and at the same time so lively and agreeable an account of the moral and social condition of the Brazilians, and of their political opinions and prospects. Indeed, all former travellers in Brazil, whose works have fallen under our notice, have given very crude, superficial, and unsatisfactory representations on these subjects. Our author, on the contrary, appears to have studied and entered into the very spirit of the people, and that rather like a judicious and sympathizing friend and fellow-citizen than a heartless stranger.

We shall not detain our readers with any further general remarks upon the work before us, but shall content ourselves with extracting from it a few passages, which will enable them to judge of its character better than any formal criticism.

The principal cause of the low moral and political condition of Brazil, and of the little benefit which has hitherto been reaped from its vast natural resources, is the frightful system of slavery under which the country is groaning. This subject our author has examined with great attention. His re-

marks upon it, in various parts of his volumes, are highly judicious and instructive; and the facts which he relates cannot be read by the most careless without a deep and melancholy interest. No one, probably, who has not made slavery a study, with however much abhorrence he may regard the system in theory, can imagine the nature and extent of the evil which flows from this fountain of bitterness.

When Dr. Walsh first landed at Rio Janeiro, he was very much struck with the appearance of the negro population.

'The whole labor of bearing and moving burdens is performed by these people, and the state in which they appear is revolting to humanity. Here was a number of beings entirely naked, with the exception of a covering of dirty rags tied about their waists. Their skins, from constant exposure to the weather, had become hard, crusty, and seamed, resembling the coarse black covering of some beast, or like that of an elephant, a wrinkled hide scattered with scanty hairs. On contemplating their persons, you saw them with a physical organization resembling beings of a grade below the rank of man; long projecting heels, the *gastrocnemius* muscle wanting, and no calves to their legs; their mouths and chins protruded, their noses flat, their foreheads retiring, having exactly the head and legs of the baboon tribe. Some of these beings were yoked to drays, on which they dragged heavy burdens. Some were chained by the necks and legs, and moved with loads thus encumbered. Some followed each other in ranks, with heavy weights on their heads, chattering the most inarticulate and dismal cadence as they moved along. Some were munching young sugar-canes like beasts of burden eating green provender, and some were seen near the water, lying on the bare ground among filth and offal, coiled up like dogs, and seeming to expect or require no more comfort or accommodation, exhibiting a state and conformation so unhuman, that they not only seemed, but actually were, far below the inferior animals around them. Horses and mules were not employed in this way; they were used only for pleasure, and not labor. They were seen in the same streets, pampered, spirited, and richly caparisoned, enjoying a state far superior to the negroes, and appearing to look down on the fettered and burdened wretches they were passing, as on beings of an inferior rank in the creation to themselves. Some of the negroes actually seemed to envy the caparisons of their fellow brutes, and eyed with jealousy their glittering harness. In imitation of this finery, they were fond of thrums of many-colored threads; and I saw one

creature, who supported the squalid rag that wrapped his waist by a suspender of gaudy worsted, which he turned every moment to look at, on his naked shoulder. The greater number, however, were as unconscious of any covering for use or ornament, as a pig or an ass.

‘The first impression of all this on my mind, was to shake the conviction I had always felt, of the wrong and hardship inflicted on our black fellow creatures, and that they were only in that state which God and nature had assigned them; that they were the lowest grade of human existence, and the link that connected it with the brute, and that the gradation was so insensible, and their natures so intermingled, that it was impossible to tell where one had terminated and the other commenced; and that it was not surprising that people who contemplated them every day, so formed, so employed, and so degraded, should forget their claims to that rank in the scale of beings in which modern philanthropists are so anxious to place them. I did not at the moment myself recollect, that the white man, made a slave on the coast of Africa, suffers not only a similar mental but physical deterioration from hardships and emaciation, and becomes in time the dull and deformed beast I now saw yoked to a burden.

‘A few hours only were necessary to correct my first impressions of the negro population, by seeing them under a different aspect. We were attracted by the sound of military music, and found it proceeded from a regiment drawn up in one of the streets. Their colonel had just died, and they attended to form a procession to celebrate his obsequies. They were all of different shades of black, but the majority were negroes. Their equipment was excellent; they wore dark jackets, white pantaloons, and black leather caps and belts, all which, with their arms, were in high order. Their band produced sweet and agreeable music, of the leader’s own composition, and the men went through some evolutions with regularity and dexterity. They were only a militia regiment, yet were as well appointed and disciplined as one of our regiments of the line. Here then was the first step in that gradation by which the black population of this country ascend in the scale of humanity; he advances from the state below that of a beast of burden into a military rank, and he shows himself as capable of discipline and improvement as a human being of any other color.

‘Our attention was next attracted by negro men and women bearing about a variety of articles for sale; some in baskets, some on boards and cases carried on their heads. They be-

longed to a class of small shop-keepers, many of whom vend their wares at home, but the greater number send them about in this way, as in itinerant shops. A few of these people were still in a state of bondage, and brought a certain sum every evening to their owners, as the produce of their daily labor. But a large proportion, I was informed, were free, and exercised this little calling on their own account. They were all very neat and clean in their persons, and had a decorum and sense of respectability about them, superior to whites of the same class and calling. All their articles were good in their kind, and neatly kept, and they sold them with simplicity and confidence, neither wishing to take advantage of others, nor suspecting that it would be taken of themselves. I bought some confectionary from one of the females, and I was struck with the modesty and propriety of her manner; she was a young mother, and had with her a neatly dressed child, of which she seemed very fond. I gave it a little comfit, and it turned up its dusky countenance to her and then to me, taking my sweetmeat and at the same time kissing my hand. As yet unacquainted with the coin of the country, I had none that was current about me, and was leaving the articles; but the poor young woman pressed them on me with a ready confidence, repeating in broken Portuguese, *outo tempo*. I am sorry to say, the "other time" never came, for I could not recognise her person afterwards to discharge her little debt, though I went to the same place for the purpose.

'It soon began to grow dark, and I was attracted by a number of persons bearing large lighted wax tapers, like torches, gathering before a house. As I passed by, one was put into my hand by a man who seemed in some authority, and I was requested to fall into a procession that was forming. It was the preparation for a funeral, and on such occasions, I learned that they always request the attendance of a passing stranger, and feel hurt if they are refused. I joined the party, and proceeded with them to a neighbouring church. When we entered we ranged ourselves on each side of a platform which stood near the choir, on which was laid an open coffin, covered with pink silk and gold borders. The funeral service was chanted by a choir of priests, one of whom was a negro, a large comely man, whose jet black visage formed a strong and striking contrast to his white vestments. He seemed to perform his part with a decorum and sense of solemnity, which I did not observe in his brethren. After scattering flowers on the coffin, and fumigating it with incense, they retired, the procession dispersed, and we returned on board.



‘I had been but a few hours on shore, for the first time, and I saw an African negro under four aspects of society; and it appeared to me, that in every one his character depended on the state in which he was placed, and the estimation in which he was held. As a despised slave, he was far lower than other animals of burthen that surrounded him; more miserable in his look, more revolting in his nakedness, more distorted in his person, and apparently more deficient in intellect than the horses and mules that passed him by. Advanced to the grade of a soldier, he was clean and neat in his person, amenable to discipline, expert at his exercises, and showed the port and bearing of a white man similarly placed. As a citizen, he was remarkable for the respectability of his appearance, and the decorum of his manners in the rank assigned him; and as a priest, standing in the house of God, appointed to instruct society on their most important interests, and in a grade in which moral and intellectual fitness is required, and a certain degree of superiority is expected, he seemed even more devout in his impressions, and more correct in his manners, than his white associates. I came, therefore, to the irresistible conclusion in my mind, that color was an accident affecting the surface of a man, and having no more to do with his qualities than his clothes — that God had equally created an African in the image of his person, and equally given him an immortal soul; and that an European had no pretext but his own cupidity, for impiously thrusting his fellow man from that rank in the creation which the Almighty had assigned him, and degrading him below the lot of the brute beasts that perish.’ — Vol. i. pp. 82–85.

The last paragraph of the foregoing extract ought to be studied by every slave-holder. In other passages the author points out some of the evils arising from slavery in Brazil. We extract a single one.

‘A very considerable part of the wealth of Rio is vested in this property, and slaves form the income and support of a vast number of individuals, who hire them out, as people in Europe do horses and mules. This is one great cause, that prevents the adoption of machinery in abridging manual labor, as so many persons have an interest in its being performed by the slaves alone. This is particularly the case in the custom-house. A crane was imported from England, capable of enabling two negroes to move and manage weights which now require twenty; but this was violently opposed and effectually resisted, as every person in the establishment possessed a number of negroes, even down to the lowest clerks, who had five or six

each, for whose labor they were paid. "It would excite laughter, if it was not for the sorrow which it occasions," said Bonafacio Andrada, "to see twenty slaves in Brazil employed in carrying to market twenty bags of sugar, which might be conveyed thither on one well-constructed cart drawn by two oxen or a pair of mules."

'There has been such a rage for acquiring this sort of property, that negroes themselves who had obtained their freedom, frequently sent ventures to Africa to purchase their countrymen, who were brought back to them in exchange for the beads and looking-glasses which they sent out. It is a frightful thing, that those poor creatures have been so instructed by the example of their masters; and their conversion to Christianity has only taught them to reduce their kindred to that state, to which they themselves felt such a horror.

'Every intelligent person in the country seems convinced, that a state of slavery is highly injurious to its best interests. The abolition of the slave-trade abroad, and the gradual extinction of a state of slavery at home, had begun to engage the attention of the first constituent assembly, when it was suddenly dissolved; but the spirit and feeling that suggested the consideration still exists in the country, notwithstanding the powerful personal interests opposed to it. The preponderance of the black population is a subject of deep alarm, and the danger of its increase has reconciled many people to the speedy abolition of the foreign trade; while the numerous obstacles presented to the industry and prosperity of the country by the employment of slaves at home, have convinced many of them, that its evils far exceed its benefits. As long as labor, they say, is performed by the hands of slaves, no white man who can buy them will exert himself, and indolence and inactivity will ever be, as it is now, the characteristic of the Brazilian. As long as a man's property is vested in slaves, which he must have employed by others in order to live himself, no machinery to abridge manual labor will ever be admitted or encouraged in the country, and the people will continue to use the few miserable and crazy expedients which their ancestors used two centuries ago. As long as two-thirds of the community are regarded as mere chattels, the interests of the proprietor will ever be considered paramount to public justice; and crimes will be committed with impunity by those who are not looked upon in the light of moral agents, because their punishment would be a loss of property to their owners. As long as men live as they do with their female slaves, the sacred bonds of parental and filial duty will be disregarded; fathers will sell their own chil-

dren as their slaves, and children will destroy their own parents, as slaves who endeavour to escape from bondage. As long as the unfortunate beings are objects to which the laws afford an inefficient protection, but are subject to the uncontrolled caprice and tyranny of their masters, it will be a continued incentive to every bad passion of the heart to indulge itself with impunity. These, and a thousand similar reflections, independent of political and natural rights, continually suggest themselves to the Brazilians, and incline them to consider seriously the evils of slavery in their country.

'The number of free blacks and mulattoes is very considerable already in the country. It is calculated of the former, that there are one hundred and sixty thousand; and of the latter four hundred and thirty thousand, making about six hundred thousand free men, who were either slaves themselves, or the descendants of slaves. These are, generally speaking, well-conducted and industrious persons; and compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them; and I saw at Villa Rica two corps of them, one consisting of four companies of free blacks, and the other of seven companies of mulattoes. The benefits arising from these, have greatly disposed the whites to consider the propriety and necessity of gradually amalgamating the rest with the free population of the country, and abolishing for ever that outrage upon the laws of God and man, the condition of a slave.' — Vol. II. pp. 199–201.

We regret that our limits will not allow us to make any farther extracts on the subject of slavery. Melancholy as the condition of Brazil is, it is gratifying to know that the government has at last abolished the slave-trade. Our author mentions, that by a treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, the latter power agreed to abolish the slave-trade after March 23, 1830. After that time the traffic was to become piracy. This treaty, which was made in 1826, and ratified in 1827, led to a great increase in the number of slaves imported into the country during the succeeding years. The abolition of the trade by Brazil, which was long, we believe, the greatest slave-market in the world, must be regarded as a great triumph of humanity, and will no doubt have a favorable influence upon the moral condition of that country.

Some estimate of the character of the Brazilians may be formed from the state of the periodical press.

'The Brazilians are an improving people, and though their literary progress is not great, it is, I imagine, much more so than in any other new state in South America.

'In periodicals, gazettes, and newspapers, they are still more advanced. In the year 1828, there were one hundred and thirty-three periodical papers printed in the whole peninsula, of which twenty-five were published in Brazil; viz. fifteen at Rio, three at Bahia, and the rest at Pernambuco, St. Paul's, St. João d'el Rey, and Villa Rica. Those at Rio were "Imperio do Brazil," "Diario do Rio Janeiro," and "Journal do Commercio," daily; "Analista," "Aurora Fluminense," "Astrea," "Courier du Brésil" (French), three times a week; "Rio Herald" (English), once a week; "Malagueta," "Diario dos Deputados," "D. do Senado," "Despertador Constitucional," "Censor Brazilico," occasionally; "Espelho Diamantino," monthly; "Propagador," or Annals of Medicine, Zoölogy, and Botany, yearly.

'Of these, the "Aurora" is the most decided and liberal. The columns rarely admit foreign news, and are entirely devoted to keeping alive the constitutional spirit. "It is the constitution," it says, "full and reduced to practice, which forms, and is to form, the infallible rule of our social life. It is for this we live, for this we have fought, and for this we will fight for ever." The "Diario do Rio Janeiro" is printed on wretched paper, and is scarcely legible; it consists almost entirely of editals and decrees, with from sixty to seventy advertisements.' — Vol. I. p. 236.

The 'Analista' is then noticed as an excessively stupid paper, and the organ of the government. The 'Malagueta' is said to be distinguished for its bitter personalities. '*Malaguete* is the native name for a small species of capsicum, the most biting and pungent of all peppers, as this is of periodicals.'

'The "Courier du Brésil" is written in French, and published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It gives the fairest and almost the only statement of things passing in the interior, and the news of other countries much more copiously than all the rest; but it is a ministerial paper, and for that reason bitterly denounced. The "Malagueta" charges it with being an emissary of the French government, sent to invade the country beforehand. The "Farol Paulista," a provincial paper, thinks it a crime not to be forgiven, that its editor is a Frenchman; and the "Aurora" denounces it to the police. These opinions are evidences of the exceeding jealousy of the people, and their



suspensions of all strangers, as enemies to their independence and liberty.

'The "Journal do Commercio," like the "Diario," is printed on wretched paper, and the typography so bad that it is hardly legible, though it is in more demand than any other. It is almost entirely filled with editals and advertisements; every publication containing from eighty to one hundred. Under the head of "Noticias Particulares," one person is informed, that if he does not bring back the books he borrowed, his name will be made public; another, that a particular person wants to speak to him, and warning him at his peril not to disappoint; a third, that his stagnant water is very offensive, and if he does not throw it out, a neighbour will come and spill it in his parlor. Some curious notices also appear from ladies: — "The senhor, who was in the house of Luiza de Conceição, in the street of Livradio, No. 1, and who requested from the senhora some paper to write on; and having finished his letter, took from her drawer four milreis in gold, a bank note for eight milreis, and a pair of silk stockings, is requested to restore the articles, if he does not wish to see his name in public. The same favor is requested from the gentleman who carried away her fan, otherwise his name shall also appear."

'Distributed frequently with the papers, is a loose sheet, called "Correspondencia:" — it consists of a letter to the editor, attacking some individuals with whom the writer has had a dispute, and it generally contains the most extraordinary libels that ever were published. The editor of the paper, who prints and circulates the libel, incurs no responsibility, provided he does not refuse to print and circulate a libellous answer. I send you one or two specimens, which came to me folded up in my newspapers.

'Retribution. — God being pleased to call from this world to a better, the merchant João Pereira Borba, and he being a man of correct life, wished to prove before his death, by an authentic testimony, that he was an honest man, whose ashes should be respected; and to that end he inserted the following clause in his will: — 'I declare that I always have been a neighbour of the merchant José Loureno Dios, a native of S. João d'el Rey, with whom I lived in close friendship; and for that reason, I strictly enjoin my heir not to demand from him a large debt, which he contracted at my store, by his constant and daily visits to the bung of a cask of Catalonian wine; for it would be a burden to my conscience, if what he owes me was demanded, since it was the vicinity of my store to the said merchant's house, that was the real and proximate cause of his

disgracing himself every day, by constant intoxication, by which he has directly and indirectly offended all his countrymen. It would, therefore, be manifest injustice to receive money for that, which renders the merchant this day so contemptible in the eyes of all fellow citizens.

ONE OF THE OFFENDED."'

—Vol. I. pp. 237-239.

Such of our readers as desire to know something of the personal appearance and modes of living of the citizens of Rio, will be gratified with the following lively description.

'The manners of the people of Rio, though not polished, are kind and cordial. I had opportunities of witnessing those of all ranks. Immediately after our arrival, we dined with Baron Mareschal, the Austrian plenipotentiary, where I met the whole of the ministry, and other distinguished Brazilians. They were men generally of low stature, and had not the least appearance or pretension of a similar class in Europe. The greater number had been engaged in business, and being men of opulence when the separation of the countries took place, naturally stepped into those situations, formerly occupied by strangers of rank from the parent country. They were men of the plainest manners, laughing, good-humored, and accessible, like common-councilmen at a London feast. Their dress, however, was rich and expensive; and some of them wore large golden keys, attached like small swords to their sides, intimating that they performed the office of chamberlain to his Majesty. Among them was a little man, with a sharp, pock-marked visage, formerly a jeweller, but now the *arbitrarius* of the court. He holds no official situation, but has attained the same influence over the Emperor that Halet Effendi possessed over the Sultan when I was at Constantinople. He is familiarly called in Rio, Chalassa, a local term, synonymous, I believe, with *bon vivant*.

'Shortly after, I was at a ball given by M. Pontois, the French Chargé d'Affaires, where I saw the ladies who composed the beau monde of Rio, dancing waltzes and quadrilles. They, like the men, were remarkably low of stature, with sallow complexions, and dark eyes and hair. The latter was dressed remarkably high, and ornamented with various productions of the country; among these were the shells of a very beautiful species of beetle, of a rich vivid green, more bright and lustrous than the finest emerald. They danced well, and their manners were very affable and unaffected.

'The shop-keepers of Rio are rather repulsive in their ad-

dress, and so little disposed to take trouble, that a customer is often induced to leave the shop, by the careless way in which he is treated. They are exceedingly fond of sedentary games of chance, such as cards and draughts, and often engage at them on their counters. I have sometimes gone in at those times to purchase an article, and the people were so interested in their game, that they would not leave it to attend to me and sell their goods. They are, however, honest and correct in their dealings, and bear good moral characters. Their charity is boundless, as appears by the sums expended on different objects by the irmandades, or brotherhoods, which they form. They are, as far as I have heard, generally speaking, good fathers and husbands, and their families are brought up with strictness and propriety. It is pleasing to see them walking out together, the corpulent parents going before, and the children and domestics following in their orders. The women are fond of black, wear no caps, but a black veil is generally thrown over their bare heads, which hangs down below their bosom and back; and as it is generally worked and spotted, it makes their faces look, at a little distance, as if they were covered with black patches. They always wear silk stockings and shoes, and are particularly neat and careful in the decorations of their feet and legs, which are generally small and well-shaped. The boys of this rank are remarkably obliging; when I saw any thing among them that seemed curious, and I expressed a wish to look at it, they always pressed it on my acceptance with great good nature, and seemed pleased at an opportunity of gratifying me.' — Vol. I. pp. 258–260.

One or two extracts will serve as specimens of the spirited and graceful manner in which Mr. Walsh describes natural objects.

'But among the trees, which gave the woods, to an European, a peculiar character, none was more striking than the singularity of the palm-trees. These were seen shooting above the rest to an immense height, with their long and slender stems, crowned with feathery foliage, like ostriches' plumes, waving in the air; and of all these, the assai (*euterpe oleracea*,) is the most elegant and beautiful. It is the taper palm which yields the cabbage. It rises from a slender stem, not more than six inches in diameter at the base; and it shoots up to the height sometimes of one hundred feet, or more. The stem is marked by annual rings, five or six inches asunder, and near the summit is a long succulent cylinder, from whence the leaves issue. This green footstalk contains the embryo of the plant.

It consists of the rudiments of the future leaves, beautifully plaited, and convoluted at the centre; and their developement from hence forms the elegant tuft that crowns the summit. This portion is exceedingly tender, yielding a pleasant and wholesome vegetable, like cabbage, boiled, and eaten with meat. From all parts of the woods, this elegant tree was seen shooting above its companions, waving in every breeze its long flexible stem, and its tuft of light silken leaves. It seemed, indeed, to belong more to the sky than the earth; for in some places it crowned the summits of the highest ridges, and was the only one whose foliage was seen projected on the blue sky, like Berenice's hair floating in the starry firmament; for the stem that supported it was so slender, that it could not be discerned in the distance. It was with great regret I first attacked this beautiful tree, and utterly destroyed it for the small portion of its esculent part. When we saw it growing on the side of a hill, near the road, we seized its taper stem, and bent it down, till it snapped off near the root, and lay prostrate across the way. Here with a faka, we cut off its graceful head, and left its body to decay. In any other country, this might be deemed a wanton and unjustifiable act of destruction; but in this it was only removing that which encumbered the soil with its profusion.

But the destruction of trees in these woods does not lessen the abundance of vegetable life. On every blasted stem which had lost its own bark and leaves, a crop of parasites had succeeded, and covered the naked wood with their no less luxuriant leaves and flowers. Of these, the different species of air-plants (*epidendron*), and barren pines (*tillandsia*), were the most remarkable. The first were no less singular than beautiful; they attach themselves to the driest and most sapless surface, and bloom as if issuing from the richest soils. A specimen of one of these, which I thought curious, I threw into my portmanteau, where it was forgotten; and some months after, in unfolding some linen, I was astonished to find a rich scarlet flower, of the gynandrous class, in full blow: it had not only lived, but vegetated and blossomed, though so long secluded from air, light, and humidity. Every withered tree here was covered with them, bearing flowers of all hues, from the brightest yellow to the deepest scarlet. They are easily propagated by transplanting; and my good friend, colonel Cunningham, had all the trees in his garden at Bota Fogo covered with them. The barren pine is not less extraordinary. It also grows on sapless trees, and never on the ground. Its seeds are furnished, on the crown, with a long filmy fibre, like the thread



of gossamer. As they ripen, they are detached, and driven with the wind, having the long thread streaming behind them. When they meet with the obstruction of a withered branch, the thread is caught, and revolving round, the seed at length comes into fixed contact with the surface, where it soon vegetates, and supplies the naked arm with a new foliage. Here it grows, like the common plant of a pine apple, and shoots from its centre a long spike of bright scarlet blossoms. In some species, (*tillandsia*, *utriculata*, and *lingulata*), the leaves are protuberant below, and form vessels like pitchers, which catch and retain the rain water, furnishing cool and limpid draughts to the heated traveller, in elevations where no water is to be found. The quantity of fluid contained in these reservoirs is sometimes very considerable; and in attempting to reach the flower stem, I have been often drenched by upsetting the plant.' — Vol. II. pp. 169, 170.

Having entered on the plains, he says,

'The birds here were more numerous, and their notes more cheerful, than in the dense forests we had passed. The most usual and attractive is João de Barros, or John of the Clay, because he always builds a regular house of it. We saw this constantly, in shape like an Irish cabin, built on the upper side of a large branch of a tree, not pendent, but erect. It consisted of an edifice, with an arched roof, having a corridor, or porch, with a door leading to an inner apartment. With a singular instinct, the door was always found on the side from which the wind less frequently blew; and the edifice was so strong and well constructed, that one has been known to last its ingenious architect many winters. The bird is about the size of a lark, or larger, and is sometimes called the yellow thrush. It is exceedingly familiar, and generally found near ranchos and villages. Whenever we approached, we saw John clinging to the branch of a tree, in an upright position, announcing our coming with a shrill, lively note, as if he was the warder placed there to warn the inhabitants of the arrival of a stranger. His cheerful salutation, however, was not confined to human habitations, but he frequently accosted us far from the haunts of men; and his lively note of welcome often met our ear in the most solitary places.

'Another familiar and cheerful bird was the Ben te vi, so called from the perfect accuracy with which he pronounces these words. He is about the size of a sparrow, and distinguished by a circle of white round his head, with a yellow belly. Whenever we passed, he put his head out of the bush,

and peeping at us from under the leaves, he said "Ben te vi — Oh, I saw you!" with an arch expression, as if he had observed something which he could tell if he pleased.' — Vol. II. p. 172.

The recent revolution in which Don Pedro has been compelled to abdicate the throne of Brazil, as hastily as James the Second did that of England, has attracted some attention to this unfortunate emperor. No one who has read the volumes before us will be surprised at this catastrophe. The abdicated monarch has on former occasions exhibited great activity, energy, and decision, and much tact and good sense in complying promptly and gracefully with the popular will. Our author, however, represents him as arbitrary and despotic in his principles, and in all his concessions to the people, as not guided by any wish to make the institutions of his country more free, but as only yielding to a force which he perceived himself unable to resist. His measures in some cases have been violent and sanguinary. It is not wonderful that among a people fickle and restless, filled with a love of republicanism, and whose political views are shifting and confused, the emperor, even if he had given no serious cause of offence, should have become unpopular. But it will be strange if a monarchical government should continue for any length of time in that country, surrounded as it is by republican states. Some particulars respecting the late emperor will perhaps be found interesting.

'The emperor's habits are very active and very temperate. He rises every morning before day, and, not sleeping himself, is not disposed to let others sleep. He usually begins, therefore, with discharging his fowling-piece about the palace, till all the family are up. He breakfasts at seven o'clock, and continues engaged in business or amusement till twelve, when he again goes to bed and remains till half past one; he then rises and dresses for dinner. The Brazilians, as far as I have observed, are neat and cleanly in their persons; and the emperor is eminently so. He is never seen in soiled linen or dirty clothes. He dines with his family at two, makes a temperate meal, and seldom exceeds a glass of wine, and then amuses himself with his children, of whose society he is very fond. He is a strict and severe, but an affectionate father, and they at once love and fear him. I heard Baron Marechal, the Austrian minister, say, he one day paid him a visit: he met no person at the door to introduce him; so availing him-

self of his intimacy, he entered without being announced. He found the emperor in an inner room, playing with his children with his coat off, entering with great interest into all their amusements, and like another Henry IV. was not ashamed to be found by a foreign ambassador so employed. At nine he retires to bed.

His education was early neglected, and he has never re-deemed the lost time. He still, however, retains some classical recollections, and occasionally takes up a Latin book, particularly the breviary, which he reads generally in that language. He wished to acquire a knowledge of English, and to that end he commenced, along with his children, a course of reading with the Rev. Mr. Tilbury, an Englishman, who has taken orders in the Catholic church, and to whose courtesy and information on several subjects, I am very much indebted. After having made some progress, he laid it aside and began to learn French, in which he sometimes converses. He has an English groom, from whom also he unfortunately learned some English. This fellow, I am informed, is greatly addicted to swearing and indecent language, and the emperor, and even the late empress, adopted some of his phraseology, without being aware of its import.

In his domestic expenses he is exceedingly frugal. The careless profusion of his father, and the total derangement of the finances, had involved the country in such difficulties, that he found it necessary to set an example of frugality in his own person, by limiting himself to a certain expenditure. In his speech to the constituent assembly, he announced this determination. "The king's disbursement," said he, "amounted to four millions; mine does not exceed one. I am resolved to live as a private gentleman, receiving only one hundred and ten thousand milreis for my private expenses, except the allowance to which my wife is entitled by her marriage contract." This at the rate of exchange before we left Rio, would not have amounted to more than ten thousand pounds per annum. His present allowance, as fixed by the chambers, is two hundred thousand milreis for himself, and twelve thousand for his children. To make this answer, he engages in various profitable pursuits, and adopts in every thing, the most rigid system of economy. He lets out his fazenda at Santa Cruz, for grazing cattle passing to Rio from the Minas Geraes, and receives so much a-head from the drovers. His slaves cut capim, and sell it, on his account, in the streets, where they were pointed out to me, distinguished by plates on their caps. He derives, also, a revenue, I am told, from several caxas shops, of which he is the pro-

prietor, and thinks, like Vespasian, that the money is not at all affected by the medium through which it passes. In his domestic expenses, he is rigid even to parsimony. He allows a very small sum to his cook, of the expenditure of which he exacts a minute account, and is very angry if this trifling sum is exceeded on any occasion; and it is said, that this was one cause of his disagreement with the late empress, whose free and careless bounty he never could restrain.' — Vol. II. pp. 250–252.

We shall not continue our extracts. Those which we have already made will enable our readers to judge of the merits of the work we have been examining. If we should copy all the passages which we have read with pleasure, they would comprise a very large portion of the two volumes.

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ART. III. *Christ and Christianity: Sermons on the Mission, Character, and Doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth.* By W. J. Fox. In two volumes. London. 1831. 12mo.

THESE are beautiful volumes, beautiful in conception and in execution; — not faultless, of course, but with so much rich thought and energetic expression, so many happy illustrations of the times of the Saviour, and so many bright glimpses of high and stirring truth, that we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity to recommend them to our readers. With the name and character of the author they are already familiar. His occasional sermons and tracts, and especially his Course of Lectures, on the 'Corruption, Revival, and Future Influence of Genuine Christianity,' have made him well known as a strong thinker and eloquent writer. The anniversary meetings of religious associations in Great Britain, have presented him to us as a glowing speaker on those occasions of excitement and benevolence. And those who from amongst ourselves have visited the father-land, have told us of the interest with which they have gone up to the chapel in Finsbury Square, and how they have seen there the crowded congregation hanging on his words and mastered by the power of his eloquence.

The leading idea of the work, which runs through it as a thread, is that of interpreting the Christian System by the character of its Author. His aim has been, Mr. Fox tells us,



“to display the spirit of the Gospel as illustrated by, and identified with, the character and ministry of its Founder.” This he has done, not in a professed series of discourses, written in connexion with this design, and with the purpose of publication; but by a selection from the sermons which he had casually prepared in the course of his ministry. Such a selection cannot of course present any thing like a systematic and thorough treatment of the subject, in its due order and just proportions. For its complete exposition in the most satisfactory way, the form of a digested treatise might have been more advisable. But it is pleasant to see how the preacher discusses such topics in his ordinary ministry; and in the local associations which pertain to a sermon, the day, the temple, the congregation, and the voice and action of the speaker, we have sources of interest which a mere book does not possess. The latter may have greater condensation, a more exact method, and less repetition; but it wants the vivacity and zest which are imparted to the former by a connexion with living men and active scenes. Perhaps in the great majority of instances, sermons do not actually possess this advantage over other forms of composition; for they are written too hastily and carelessly; they contain too few ideas; and especially they do not carry the air of actual addresses and exhortations which have been really made to an assembly; they are too merely dry didactic discussions, with which it is difficult to associate the idea of rhetorical enunciation. They are at once too empty in point of thought, and too coolly careful in point of language. There has been too little of the study, we may perhaps say, of the attempt, to unite in the pulpit the exactness of the dissertation with the form and freedom of the harangue; so that we have, on the one hand, well-considered and well-written papers fit only for the closet of the scholar, and, on the other, random declamations destitute of careful thought and profitable argument, fit only to stir the senses and blindly excite the passions. Some preachers are always philosophically and logically correct, and never offend a delicate taste, but never stir an affection of the heart; while others spend their hour in exclamatory and miscellaneous remarks, without method or purpose, yet contrive to touch some springs of feeling, and rivet attention to some important truths. Now it certainly is not impossible to unite the regular discussion of a subject with the animation of a rhe-

torical address ; as is proved by many illustrious examples in the pulpit as well as in the various walks of secular eloquence, and among others by that of the author before us. He has industriously studied, and with no small success, to unite these two qualities. Some of his sermons are perhaps rather more miscellaneous in their contents than is often well ; but he cannot be accused of the sin of dryness ; in his most careful discussion, he never forgets that he is addressing a promiscuous audience ; and he consequently adopts a style of expression and of illustration suited to attract the ear, and excite and sustain the attention. If some should think that in doing this he occasionally treads on the border of the declamatory style, let them remember that he writes as a speaker, with a view to men of every capacity and taste ; and that they ought to be satisfied, while passages of the most graceful and chaste composition remain to delight the fastidious, that paragraphs of a more venturesome and sounding description should be left for those who are charmed with the showy and magnificent. For ourselves, we must say that we think the declamatory preferable to the soporific ; and we would rather that the declamation were a little too gorgeous, than that it should not effectually break the slumbers of the congregation.

As regards the subject of the volumes, it is one full of interest ; and of so wide extent that it allows the introduction of every variety of style, from that of the most naked reasoning to that of the most ornamented description or most pathetic appeal. It is 'Christ and Christianity' ;—whatever in the former may elucidate the character and purposes of the latter, may here have place. The preacher goes on the idea, that if we could know what Christianity is, we must understand and feel what Christ was. 'He was the Christian revelation' ; and it is by the study and development of his character, that we are to unfold the true principles and character of his system. From the excellent proportions of that holy and beautiful model, we are to learn the excellencies of his religion ; and we shall thus ascertain what is truth concerning the doctrines he taught and the precepts he delivered, with far greater certainty than by merely examining them through the laws of philological interpretation, and reasoning from abstract principles. This thought is applied in various ways, and sometimes with great power and felicity. Many of the discourses are on topics which are only remotely and indirectly

connected with this main thought; such as the Doctrine of Providence, Social Duty, Christian Liberty, the Coming of the Son of Man; but they are still so treated as to help the accomplishment of the general purpose.

We shall not pretend to give an analysis of the contents of these volumes, or to discuss any of the numerous important questions which they suggest to us. We esteem it fairer to our author to give such extracts as will enable our readers to ascertain for themselves the mode in which he speculates on points of importance, as well as the style in which he treats the ordinary topics of the pulpit.

His general mode of viewing the Christian system may be seen in the third sermon, entitled, 'Christianity Defined.' He inquires whether, rightly considered, 'it be a system of doctrine or discipline at all; and whether it be not rather a fact, or a series of facts; from which, indeed, certain doctrines may be deduced, and to extend the moral influence of which certain discipline may perhaps be usefully exercised; but which is, in itself, distinct from both.' In illustration of this idea, he quotes the address of Peter to Cornelius — the first announcement of the gospel to a heathen — which, he says, may fairly be taken as 'a compendium of Christianity, an abridged gospel'; and then proceeds thus:

'Now omitting what, in this discourse, is merely confirmatory or introductory, as the baptism of John, and the witnessing of Apostles and Prophets; and an expression which belongs to the philosophy, or perhaps only the phraseology of the day, the ascription of disease to the devil; of what does it consist? Simply of a statement of facts. It affirms the mission, work, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. These, then, are Christianity.

'Has Christianity, then, no doctrines? Yes; whatever doctrines are borne out by these facts. Has Christianity no morals? Yes; whatever habits these facts influence men to the formation of; whatever actions these facts show to be connected with his happiness. Still these are the branches, and the facts the stem; these are the produce of Christianity; those are Christianity itself. That this view has the testimony not only of Peter but of the sacred writers generally is an assertion which I would rest on two circumstances, which may be verified by an inspection of the Acts and Epistles. 1. That the admission of these facts constituted a believer, a Christian; as is evident by referring to the recorded conversions generally:

And 2, that whenever even the Apostles went beyond these, they reasoned the matter ; if with the Jews, from the Old Testament ; if with heathens, from nature ; if with believers, from these admitted facts. Each may be illustrated in Paul. In the synagogue at Antioch he appealed to the Hebrew prophets. On Mars' Hill at Athens he argued from the majesty of the creature to that of the Creator. Writing to the Christians of Corinth he inferred the resurrection of man from the resurrection of Christ. The general practice, then, as well as the particular instance, conducts us to the conclusion that Christianity consists of facts from which theological truths are to be elicited by the exercise of human reason.' — Vol. I. pp. 36, 37.

He recurs to the same topic in a subsequent discourse. Among the advantages which result from this mode of viewing Christianity, he states the following.

'It simplifies the arguments for Christianity against the Deist. It is astonishing how much has been written by both parties in this controversy, which is completely beside the mark ; how much has been laboriously proved or disproved which mattered nothing, whether true or false, to the great question at issue. That question is really a bare historical fact ; did Jesus of Nazareth rise from the dead ? He who disproves that fact, destroys Christianity ; and he who has proved that fact, has proved Christianity. When Deists object to the way in which Jewish warriors used their victories, or Jewish prophets communicated their instructions ; when they assail the apostleship of this man or the authority of that book ; when they detect exploded philosophy in Moses, or inconsequential argument in Paul ; when they labor to show a proverb not wise, or a precept not practicable ; when they argue that Joshua was not merciful, and David not pure, and the Jews not refined, and the insane not possessed ; and when they call this disproving Christianity, they are as trifling as the divines who, with infinite zeal and toil, meet them on all these points, and call that establishing Christianity. Were the Deists completely triumphant on every one of these points (which is very far indeed from being the case), still Christianity would not be demolished, would not be shaken, would not be touched. It would stand like a castle on a rock ; and all that the combatants had ascertained would be, whether certain plants at its base were weeds or flowers. What can be more absurd than such arguments as these : the Trinity is not a rational doctrine, therefore Christ did not rise from the dead ; or, Jewish doctors were wrong as to the cause of insanity, therefore Christ did



not rise from the dead ; or, Moses did not understand Sir Isaac Newton's theory of the planetary system, therefore Christ did not rise from the dead ? And yet to this may very much be reduced which has been put forth as destructive of Christianity. For, if it disprove not that fact, it disproves nothing.' — Vol. 1. pp. 40 – 42.

Our next extract is of a passage which contains a very just remark respecting the comparative light of nature and of revelation beautifully expressed.

'There is no comparison between the importance of that knowledge of God which the great bulk of mankind has derived from nature, and that which it owes to revelation. In fact, they owe all to revelation ; nor without it did even the wisest ever attain, nor in all probability ever would they have attained, to any thing like a just and complete view of the religious instructions of nature. The natural only became understood as it was illustrated by the supernatural. The mind seems always to repose on regularity, and is only roused by interruption to inquire into causes and tendencies. Miracles were the exciting cause of the devout contemplation of ordinary events. The most beautiful translation into human language of the voice of nature, of that speech which star uttereth to star, and day to night, in their maker's praise, is to be found in the writings of those whose minds were formed by the extraordinary interpositions of Judaism. He who most effectively taught to consider the lilies of the field how they grow, so as to infer the care of the heavenly Father over his rational offspring, was the subject of prophecy, a worker of miracles, and exhibited in his own person the resurrection of the dead. Even if there be actually no more religious truth than nature teaches, it is the merit of Christianity to have made millions know that truth, to have brought it forth from the seclusion of the philosopher's cell, and sent it to sojourn among the peasantry of the village, or cry aloud in the streets of the crowded city. But the very nature of the case implies that revelation is much more than this ; it is the addition of a comparatively new class of facts, of the utmost importance, confirming in various ways the deductions from other sources, and bearing out many an inference, and suggesting many a hope, which could have been derived from no other source whatever.' — Vol. 1. pp. 20 – 22.

There are three sermons on the 'Progressive Character of the Gospel, as shown in its power to accommodate itself to, and keep pace with, the general improvement of mankind.'

In the first of these the writer takes the example of a child, and having described the suitableness of this religion to its young understanding and wants, proceeds to show how, as it advances to manhood and to the highest intellectual eminence, it still finds the Christian revelation infinitely adapted to its powers and its wants. We wish we had room for a longer extract.

‘Take the next higher gradation of intelligence, that of the child grown up to manhood, but without those advantages of education, the loss of which is amongst the heaviest privations of poverty. The mind may be stunted, but even under the most unfavorable circumstances it does grow, though it be but slowly. Judgment does become stronger, comprehension does become larger, observation does become keener, though scarcely more than the first sealed page is opened of the book of knowledge. The mind of the man, even of such a man as this, wants more in religion than that of a child. And whatever he wants, he finds. He finds it not in a distinct revelation, or portion of the revelation, for his use. There is not one book set apart for the child, and another for the man, like a succession of lessons at school. But he finds what he wants in the same book, the same narrative, the same passages, as those which furnished out the religion of the child. They mean more than they did then, because he needs, and can discern, more in them. He has become conscious of sin; he has felt the consequences of sin; he wants assurance of pardon, and there it is; in that very tale of the Father and his wandering Son, over which he wept in innocent sympathy and filial feeling, and over which he weeps now tears from a penitent heart in the reception of God’s mercy to a returning sinner. He has had his difficulties about the world; the regularity of some things, the irregularity of others; the falling out of like events to the good and the wicked; the frequent prosperity of the unrighteous; for all these are obvious enough to the observation of humble life, and painful and puzzling are they often. He goes to Christ; and the very words which told the child of God’s having a Father’s care, have become, have grown into, the doctrine of a Providence. He has become fearfully aware of the strength of his passions, the effect of circumstances of temptation, the power of evil habit: he wants more energy of self-restraint; he wants motive; and there it is for him, directing him to watch his heart; telling him of death, of judgment, of recompense, of punishment. His lot in this world is labor, and sorrow its frequent accompaniment. It is not so bright as it was to his young eyes, and all that relates to another

world grows on him in importance. The very word "rest," meaning so little to the child, has become to him a precious promise. The change is like that of the Apostles after the resurrection of their Master. The Christ of his admiration and love is no longer merely a benignant man upon the earth ; his Christ is in heaven, and therefore the comforter is sent down into his heart. Yet all this is the self-same religion ; the self-same story, told in the self-same words ; but the mind has more strength, more experience, more wants, more capacities ; and that same plain tale that delighted the child, proves that it can minister to all these, supply and fill them all, pervade the whole of the extended space, and be the religion of man ; of uncultivated man ; but of man, thinking, sinning, sorrowing, and hoping ; and that with as much facility and perfectness as it was the religion of the very child.' — Vol. II. pp. 6–8.

The following is a specimen of the manner in which he treats doctrinal subjects in connexion with the character of Christ.

' All Christians have seen in his character the pattern of perfection. They were right. All Christians have felt it draw towards him the affections of their hearts ; all love Christ : they are right in that too. And then they have generally represented the Deity with most unlike qualities and attributes ; and in that they have gone wrong ; the more wrong the farther they departed from this rule. And this is the fundamental error of the prevalent systems of religion ; the basis of the worst corruptions of the Gospel. If, instead of speculating on the divinity of Christ's nature, they would but reason consistently on the reflected divinity of his character, how speedily would our theological differences be brought to a close, and all minds and hearts be irradiated by " the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ ! " ' — p. 286. . . . . ' Theologians say that God avenged the honor of his broken laws, and satisfied the claims of his justice, and made a needful opening for the exercise of his mercy to the repentant sinner, by imputing the sins of mankind to Christ, and visiting their punishment on his head. They never learned that either, by observing the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. His heart and life neither exhibited nor recognised any such moral principle as this sort of vindictive justice. It was not thus that he dealt with those who offended against him. Nothing could be so prompt, rich, and free, as his forgiveness, unless that of God, as he taught, and we believe it to be exercised, in the parable of the prodigal son. Had the principle, ascribed by this faith

to God, been that of Christ, how would he have acted, for instance, when Peter denied him? Think of the enormous discrepancy which his then adopting it would have introduced into the gospel. Suppose him forgiving Peter, notwithstanding those tears of bitterness, and that subsequent life of devotion to his cause, only on condition that John, the beloved disciple, should, in his own mind and body, endure some penalty of heavy anguish, the outpouring of the vials of Jesus' wrath for the apostasy of Peter, imputed to him; would this have strengthened the precept to love Christ? Would this have been a scene for us to admire and venerate? Yet if God be the God of vindictive justice, thus should his glory have shone in the face of Jesus Christ. It was a purer light that beamed from his eye, when, in the midst of his false asseverations, "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter." That glance of affectionate upbraiding, of reproachful tenderness, of frank forgiveness, shone into his heart, as it does still into ours: "that is the true light." When the yet unconverted Paul was rushing on in his career, it is true the glorified appearance of Jesus struck him to the earth. But it was no blow of vengeance. Though he had aided in the infliction of death on Christians, there was no demand of blood for blood, his own, or that of a substitute; it was the blaze of mercy which blinded his eyes to irradiate his mind; it was the voice of godlike compassion which said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" And then, with godlike generosity, came his apostolic commission and his Master's promise. Now, I say, that if we are to see, as this same Paul tells us in the text, "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ"; if the moral character of Jesus be really a picturing forth to the world of the moral attributes of the Deity; then the common doctrines of atonement and satisfaction are utterly inconsistent with that character and those attributes, and have nothing to do with that eternal life which is in the knowledge of the Father, the only God, and Jesus Christ whom he sent.' — Vol. I. pp. 289 – 291.

We would gladly take much from the next discourse, on 'The Power of Christ's Character,' but must confine ourselves to one brief passage.

'I verily believe that the character of Christ has operated materially, and will increasingly so, in preventing unbelief in some minds, and mitigating the hostility of unbelief in others. How many there have been, who, while they rejected Christianity, have yet paid homage to the beauty of the Saviour's character! They could not wage war with that. They felt as Titus when he would have spared the temple, while he gave



Jerusalem to desolation, and its sons to slaughter or captivity. Respect for the character of Christ draws a line of demarcation between the different classes of unbelievers. It almost universally distinguishes the nobler from the baser sort; the skeptic from the scoffer; the infidelity of misguided minds from that of vicious passions. And I have known its efficacy, where other means had failed, in preserving, and even in converting, from unbelief.' — pp. 305, 306.

There seems to us great sweetness in the paragraphs which follow.

'On two occasions, especially, we are informed that Jesus wept; the one a case of private, the other of public calamity. The first was at the grave of Lazarus; — of Lazarus, his personal and intimate friend, in whose house he had abode, and with whom he had taken sweet counsel; — of Lazarus, whom he loved, and *his* affection was of no ordinary strength; whose sisters were looking up to him in all the first helplessness and agony of bereavement; and for whom many voices were raising the wail of lamentation over a lost benefactor; that wail which, proclaiming the worth of the blessing that is gone, though it may be at last balm for the mourner's wounded soul, at first deepens and aggravates the smart to intensity. Then he wept; wept though he knew that Lazarus was about to rise; though his prayer was heard and granted for the aid of Omnipotence; though he was advancing towards the spot where he should pronounce the wondrous command to the dead, "Come forth," and where the dead heard and obeyed that command, and "came forth."

'The other occasion sprung out of this. Lazarus had been raised; the fame of the miracle had gone abroad; the feast of the passover was close at hand; Jesus had fulfilled his personal ministry; there remained to the Jewish nation but the choice of his solemn acceptance as the Messiah, or his rejection; he avowed his pretensions to that character; he approached Jerusalem sitting upon an ass's colt, in the simple state of her ancient sovereigns; an immense multitude attended his progress; they descended the Mount of Olives; and there lay Jerusalem before them in all her extent, her beauty, and her pride; her white towers and palaces glittering in the sun; the city of God, with his peerless temple majestically rising above all other buildings, as if awaiting and looking for the coming of the Messenger of Jehovah's covenant, to give it a holier consecration, and kindle in its empty ark a brighter glory of the Lord; and then the popular enthusiasm burst forth like a torrent; and

palm-branches were snatched, and waved around, and strewn in the path of the lowly, but then triumphant prophet; and the acclamation resounded to all the hills of Zion, "Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest!" And so rolled on that beautiful pageant; beautiful, but O how brief! — for the storm was up which should scatter it abroad; and the clouds were brooding that should wrap it in a pall of blackest darkness.

'He, around whose head these evanescent glories shone, was weeping.' — Vol. II. pp. 80 — 82.

We had marked other passages for quotation, but are obliged to desist. We hope soon again to meet our author in the work which he proposes as a sequel to the present, on 'the Apostles and their Preaching;' and trust that he will not pause in his labors until he has completed the plan which he has announced in his Preface, of a survey of 'the Holy Scriptures, their History, Morality, Poetry, and Philosophy.'

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[For the Christian Examiner.]

ART. IV. — *Unitarianism vindicated against the Charge of Skeptical and Infidel Tendencies.*

MEN may take their religion on trust, or make it a matter of inquiry and rational conviction. Unitarians prefer and adopt the latter course; holding it to be their privilege and duty to do so, and essential to consistent Protestantism. With them it is not enough that the church has decided in favor of a particular doctrine; or that the doctrine belongs to the religion established by law; or that it was held by their ancestors, and is still held by the majority. On the infinitely important subject of religion, and with the Bible in their hands, they do not feel themselves at liberty to waive the right to read for themselves, and judge for themselves. One of the consequences of acting on this principle is, as might be expected, that they come to some conclusions differing materially from those commonly received; and also that they do not agree exactly with one another; nor the same man with himself at different times, for of course as he continues his inquiries he may receive more light. This circumstance, however, has

afforded occasion for one of the most common and serious objections urged against them. Their way of proceeding, it is said, has a tendency to unsettle men's minds, and introduce a general skepticism; and the whole system has been branded as the half-way house to infidelity.

We propose to take up this single charge, and give it a careful and thorough examination. After a few preliminary remarks on the nature of faith, and the history and present state of the particular question at issue, we shall be prepared to demonstrate, that there is nothing in Unitarianism itself, nor in its rejection of certain popular doctrines, nor in the general manner in which it has been, or is, defended and maintained, to warrant the suspicions and imputations just named.

It does not follow necessarily that a man believes a particular doctrine, merely because he thinks he does; for he may be mistaken in regard to this fact, as well as in regard to any other. To know whether we believe a particular doctrine, we must know, in the first place, what the doctrine is; in the second place, we must know what our own ideas on the subject really are; and in the third place, we must compare the doctrine and our own ideas together, and see whether they agree. Now we hazard nothing in saying, that many never think of going through this process; and those who undertake it, are liable to mistake at every step, and of course may be mistaken in the conclusion. The truth is, — and why should men try or affect not to see it? — most persons adopt the religious phraseology which happens to prevail where they are brought up; and as they do this in early childhood, they do it before they can be expected to use such phraseology understandingly, and a habit of using it vaguely and mechanically is formed and perpetuated. It is no sufficient evidence, therefore, that a man believes the popular doctrines in religion, merely because he uses the popular language; for he may use this language in a different or qualified sense, or, which is still more probable, he may use it in no determinate sense. As a general rule, indeed, we suspect that conversions to Unitarianism, especially when they take place among serious and devout people, do not imply any material change in their convictions, but only that they have ascertained what their real convictions are, and are not restrained by considerations either of interest or fear from avowing them.

Again, it does not follow necessarily, that a man believes a particular doctrine, merely because he wishes he did, and is willing to take it for granted. It may be for his interest to believe; he may be persuaded or frightened into the opinion that he ought to believe; he may honestly think that believing would make him a better man; but, after all, he cannot believe, until he is convinced. Faith is not a simple act of the will; nor can it be strengthened or weakened, or changed or in any way modified, by a simple act of the will. It is the involuntary yielding of the mind to a preponderance of evidence as it strikes us at the time. True, in some states of mind we are much more likely to believe, than in others; but it is because in different states of mind the same evidence strikes us differently, being viewed under different aspects; and not because the will, simply considered, has any control over our convictions. In all cases without exception, let our state of mind be what it may, belief is the involuntary assent of the understanding to a preponderance of evidence, as it strikes us at the time. It does depend on a man's will what professions he shall make, and what church he shall attend, and what party he shall connect himself with; and he may take every thing he hears for granted, if he pleases, and he may reason, and to a certain extent he may act on it, as if it were true;—but what has this to do with real belief? He may wish to believe; he may try to believe; he may say he believes; still, however, it is not belief, in any proper sense of that word, unless he is convinced. It resembles much more nearly what children call 'making believe.' For fashion's sake, for interest's sake, for peace' sake, perhaps for conscience' sake he may make believe; but this is the utmost he can do, until he is convinced.

Further; it is idle to think of believing a proposition, the terms of which we do not and cannot understand. A man may believe, perhaps, that a proposition, unintelligible to himself, is nevertheless true; but this is not believing the proposition itself, but only in the authority of the proposition. A man may believe, perhaps, that a truth is asserted in such a proposition; but this is not believing the truth asserted, but only that a truth is asserted. To believe a proposition is to believe what is asserted in the proposition; but, before we can believe what is asserted in the proposition, we must know what is asserted. If we do not know what is asserted in a prop-



osition, how do we know, how can we know, but that we believe exactly the contrary? A man's real belief on any subject is neither more nor less than his ideas on that subject. Set before him, then, an unintelligible proposition, and we should like to be informed, how he is to tell whether his ideas agree with it, or not; and on the supposition that they do not, we should like to be informed, how he is to proceed in order to make them agree. The mysteries of the New Testament are not unintelligible propositions, but secrets, hidden, it is true, from the foundation of the world until they were disclosed by Jesus Christ, and his apostles, but now that they are disclosed, as intelligible as any other truths. There are also mysteries in nature, mysteries as yet undisclosed; but these are not unintelligible propositions, nor propositions of any kind, but ultimate facts, beyond which, at present, we cannot go either in our reasonings or conceptions. What abuse of language, therefore, as well as confusion of ideas, is implied in thinking to believe ourselves, or to make others believe, unintelligible propositions under the name of mysteries, awful mysteries? And yet how much effect this cry of mystery, awful mystery, has had in inducing men to suppose that they believed, merely because they were afraid to inquire. After the advocates of error have been driven from every other position, they have always been able to turn round on their pursuers, and raise the cry of mystery, awful mystery; and the strongest minds have been daunted, and withdrawn their objections as presumptuous and irreverent, and acquiesced in absurdities and superstitions, which they had again and again refuted. In following back the history of our religion we are reminded, at almost every step, of the inscription on the forehead of the woman in the Apocalypse, who prefigured the abuses and corruptions in the church: "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth."

But the days of mystery and concealment are passing away; for men have learned from the Scriptures themselves to prove all things, and hold fast that only which is good. There are those who are alarmed at this; but the man who fears that inquiry will make him a skeptic, shows himself a skeptic already. All interferences to repress freedom of thought, all attempts to deter men from hearing and reading on both sides, all appeals to the fears and prejudices of the people to prevent a free and open discussion of novel opinions, originate

in that very skepticism, which they are vainly thought to preclude. It is the policy of men, whatever they may say to the contrary, who have no confidence in their own cause, and therefore dread, above all things, the inquisitive and searching spirit which is trying the systems and institutions of the world, as by fire. Some will contend, we are aware, that they have no objection to a free discussion of religious subjects, provided it is confined to the privileged and well educated classes; but the people, the common people must be kept at a distance, at all events, and not be suffered to break through and gaze. You cannot do it. The distinction of modern times does not consist so much in a greater advancement of knowledge, as in a greater diffusion of knowledge; and the consequence is, not that the few are less inclined to impose on the many than formerly, but that the many have become acquainted with their rights and powers, and will not permit it. If ignorance is the mother of devotion in the common people, you have committed a fatal error in allowing education to become general; but the light has gone forth, and you cannot recall it, and those who have learned to think for themselves on other subjects, will think for themselves on the subject of religion. It is a full century too late for timid expedients and half-way measures, and the discussion of all subjects literary and moral, political and religious, must be free, free as the air, and while free, safe, for in the world of mind, as of matter, it is repression only which produces violence.\*

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\* 'The universal education of the poor, which no earthly power can prevent, although it may retard it, is loudly demanded by the united voices of the moralist and politician. But if the people are to be enlightened at all, it is unavailing and inconsistent to resort to half measures and timid expedients; to treat them at once as men and as children; to endow them with the power of thinking and at the same time to fetter its exercise; to make an appeal to their reason and yet to distrust its decisions; to give them the stomach of a lion, and feed them with the aliment of a lamb. The promoters of the universal education of the poor ought to be aware that they are setting in motion, or at least accelerating the action of an engine too powerful to be controlled at their pleasure, and likely to prove fatal to all those parts of their own systems, which rest not on the solid foundation of reality. They ought to know, that they are necessarily giving birth to a great deal of doubt and investigation; that they are undermining the power of prejudice, and the influence of mere authority and prescription; that they are creating an immense number of keen inquirers and origi-

We are now prepared to inquire whether there is any thing in Unitarianism itself to unsettle men's minds, and introduce a general skepticism.

The distinction between the Unitarian and the Trinitarian is not, that the former thinks himself supported by reason, and the latter by Scripture. Each thinks himself supported by Scripture, and the only difference in this connexion is, that the Unitarian thinks himself supported by reason too. Besides, it must be conceded, on all hands, that Christianity, as represented by Unitarians, is made to appear more reasonable and probable in itself, while nothing is done to detract in the smallest degree from its historical evidences. Open any popular work on the evidences, Paley's, for example, and you cannot turn to a single important argument, illustration, or allusion, which the Unitarian may not urge with just as much confidence in proof of Christianity, as he understands it, as the Trinitarian can in proof of Christianity, as he understands it. The question here is not, how strong this evidence is, or how much it will prove, or whether it will prove any thing; but we say, that it will prove as much for the Unitarian as it will for the Trinitarian. This, then, is a true statement of the case; Unitarian views are sustained by the same evidence and authority with the Trinitarian, and the only difference is, that Unitarian views are more reasonable and probable in themselves. Now we ask, whether a man is less likely to believe in Christianity merely because it is made to appear more reasonable and probable in itself, the evidence and authority for it remaining the same? Take any system or theory, and make it appear more reasonable and probable in itself, and can it be supposed for one moment that it will require more external evidence to convince men of its truth? or that the same external evidence will not produce in them an equal degree of conviction? We neither judge nor despise those who believe or profess to believe in apparent contradictions or incongruities; for they have a right to do so, and they ought to do so, if they think these apparent contradictions or incongruities part of divine revelation. But we are speaking of those

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inal thinkers, whose intellectual force will be turned, in the first instance, upon subjects which are dearest to the heart, and of most importance to society.' *Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions.* pp. 150, 151.

who are honestly convinced, that these apparent contradictions or incongruities are not part of divine revelation, are not taught in the Bible. Taking this view of the subject, we can hardly look on a man as serious, who still persists in maintaining, that one's faith in Christianity is less likely to be hearty and entire, merely because it comes to him supported at the same time by Scripture, and reason, and conscience, and his best feelings, and all nature.

This is one of those questions, a fair, clear, and forcible statement of which makes all discussion superfluous. Besides, it is not enough considered, in this connexion, that the external evidences of Christianity are of a moral or historical nature, and do not therefore, and cannot amount to demonstration. So long as the intrinsic improbability of what is to be proved falls within a certain limit, these evidences are sufficient; but they cease to be sufficient as soon as the intrinsic improbability of what is to be proved is made to exceed this limit. The impartial and discriminating inquirer will take care, at every step, to weigh the external evidences of what is to be proved against its intrinsic improbability, and the balance, one way or the other, will be the measure of his faith, or of his skepticism. To make Christianity, therefore, appear more reasonable and probable in itself, has the same effect, so far as a rational conviction of its truth is concerned, as adding so much to its external evidences, and to make it appear less reasonable and probable in itself, has the same effect as detracting so much from its external evidences. It is folly, moreover, to shut our eyes on the fact, that in all educated and enlightened communities, the traditionary faith is gradually losing its hold on the public mind. Temporary alarms and excitements may do something to counteract this tendency; but that it exists, and is felt, is manifest in the feverish eagerness evinced of late by most even of the exclusive sects in altering their policy, and, in some respects, their doctrines and institutions, to accommodate themselves to it. Once the apparent inconsistencies and absurdities in the popular faith constituted no obstacle to its prevalence as matter of profession at least, if not of actual belief; but the time is coming, and in many places now is, when with men of intelligence and reflection the only question likely to arise is, whether they shall have a more rational religion, or none. Among every people there must be a certain correspondence and



harmony, if we may so express it, between the religion as publicly professed and taught, and their moral and intellectual progress in other respects, or a spirit of indifference or disgust will grow up in regard to it, a thousand times more fatal to every thing like a true and living faith, than speculative doubts. In proof of this we need but refer to the state of things in England during the Protectorate and the reign of Charles the Second, and in France for some time prior to the Revolution, and in some parts of Germany at the present moment. Unitarianism, therefore, nominally or virtually held, in a free and enlightened community like ours, instead of opening on us, as some would pretend, the floodgates of infidelity, presents under God, as we conceive, the only effectual barrier against its encroachments.

Admitting, however, that there is nothing in Unitarianism itself to induce skepticism, the question arises whether it does not omit or reject certain principles or doctrines, which lie at the foundation of an unshaken trust in revelation.

In the first place, Unitarians entertain different views from those which have prevailed in some sects respecting what is called 'the witness of the spirit.' Paul, writing to the Romans, says, 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The spirit itself,' or, as it ought to be rendered, this very spirit, 'beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.'\* The meaning of the original may be rendered more fully and intelligibly thus: 'Ye have not again received the spirit of slaves, which is fear, but the spirit of adopted sons, by which we appeal to God, as our Father. This very spirit, if we are conscious of possessing it, bears witness with our spirit, affords us the necessary evidence, that we are the children of God.' The Scriptures neither here, nor in any other passage, countenance the presumption, that to be a Christian, and a believer in the truth, it is necessary for a man to be assured of the fact by some mysterious and preternatural intimation from above. At the same time, it is not wonderful, that persons acting under a belief that such an intimation was to be expected, especially if they are of an excitable and imaginative temperament, should often work themselves into

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\* Romans viii. 15, 16.

an impression that they have received it. Accordingly we find that Deists and Mahomedans, as well as Christians, and that Christians of different denominations, and of irreconcilable and contradictory views, have supposed themselves to receive mysterious and preternatural intimations from God, sometimes externally and sometimes internally, each one of the correctness of his own peculiar sentiments, and of the safety of his own condition. Nay, the same individual will sometimes alter his religious opinions and practices three or four times in the course of his life, and yet declare and honestly believe, after each change, that he has had mysterious and preternatural assurances that he is infallibly right at last. Shall we say, then, that all these pretences to infallibility and divine illumination are well founded? Certainly not; for this would be to make God expressly confirm and sanction all manner of contradictions. Besides, if we go over to the Quaker, because he is confident that he is right from divine intimations, as he regards them, then also, and for the same reason, to be consistent, we must go over to the Methodist, and the high Calvinist, and the Swedenborgian, each of whom is not a whit less confident than the Quaker, that he too is right, from divine intimations, as he regards them. The argument, by proving too much, proves nothing.

Still it may be argued that these supposed divine intimations, however they may be regarded by others, must exclude all doubt from those who are conscious of them. Conscious of what? They are conscious, doubtless, of certain internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions; and of the fact of these internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions, consciousness is, we admit, an infallible witness. But that these internal impressions, emotions, or suggestions are from God is not a matter of consciousness, but of inference, and perhaps, as they must know, of mistaken inference. If, therefore, while relying on supposed divine intimations, I see my neighbours, by trusting to the same kind of evidence, led into conclusions the very opposite to mine, must I not, if I am a man of discernment and reflection, begin to suspect the evidence itself? If I see multitudes around me, whose honesty and sincerity I cannot question, misled by a confidence in supposed divine intimations, may I not, must I not, begin to suspect that I also may be misled in the same way? I cannot doubt, it is true, the reality of those impressions, emotions, or sugges-

tions, of which I am conscious; but I can alter my mind respecting their nature and origin. Impressions, emotions, or suggestions, which I used to regard as mysterious and preternatural intimations from above, I may find can be explained on a different hypothesis, and more satisfactorily. It is not true, therefore, that a consciousness of supposed divine intimations and assurances will exclude doubt; for this consciousness must always be accompanied by another, that in regard to the first we may be self-deceived. The very same reasons and arguments, which, as we have shown, should lead a man who makes no pretensions to mysterious and preternatural intimations, to suspect those who do, should also lead those who do to suspect themselves. Hence it appears that Unitarians lose nothing on the score either of evidence, or argument, or confidence, by rejecting as unscriptural and illusory the popular doctrine of the witness of the spirit.

Again; it may be alleged that Unitarians throw every thing into uncertainty by the peculiar views which they hold and inculcate respecting inspiration. Unitarians believe in the divine origin of the Christian religion, and in its supernatural and miraculous origin. They believe that our Lord and the apostles were inspired, — supernaturally, miraculously inspired. Accordingly they conclude, and cannot but conclude, that the writers of the New Testament, possessing such means of information, must have carried in their minds at all times, in all places, and to the end of life, a complete and infallible knowledge of the doctrine of Christ. They make a distinction, however, between being inspired and being omniscient, holding that the inspiration of the most favored of these writers extended only to what is essential to the Christian doctrine. Their inspiration began and ended in a supernatural communication to their minds of a clear, abiding, and infallible perception of the vital and essential principles of the new dispensation. These they were afterwards left to state, illustrate, and recommend, as they were able, in their own language, and by their natural faculties. Unitarians do not think it necessary to maintain, nor safe to attempt to maintain, that the sacred writers were inspired as natural philosophers, metaphysicians, or critics, nor even as logicians, chronologers, or historians. They distinguish, moreover, between the Christian revelation, which existed, and had been extensively diffused many years before a line of the Christian Scriptures was written,

and these Scriptures themselves, which are but a record of the revelation. And here we cannot but express our surprise and regret at the ignorance, or want of candor, or profligacy of those, who take every opportunity to affirm or insinuate that Unitarians do not believe in inspiration, or in the Bible as containing the Christian revelation, or that their views on these and the kindred subjects are essentially novel or peculiar. They are substantially the same views with those held by Grotius and Le Clerc, by Paley and the liberal divines generally of the Church of England, and by almost the entire body of German theologians at the present day, the professed Rationalists excepted. 'Had the Deity,' says Michaelis, 'inspired not a single book of the New Testament, but left the apostles and evangelists without any other aid than that of natural abilities to commit what they knew to writing, admitting their works to be authentic, and possessed of a sufficient degree of credibility, the Christian religion would still remain the true one.'\* Upon which Bishop Marsh remarks, 'Here our author makes a distinction, which is at present very generally received, between the divine origin of the Christian doctrine, and the divine origin of the writings in which that doctrine is recorded.'†

It is remarkable, that the views of inspiration entertained by Unitarians, in common, it is believed, with the majority of enlightened Protestants, and which have exposed them in some quarters to the suspicion of skepticism, have been insisted on for the sole purpose of meeting the objections of infidels. They are under no necessity, and they feel no disposition, in their controversies with other Christians, to avail themselves of any latitude of interpretation, which these views of inspiration might be supposed to warrant, in ascertaining what is to be received as the simple, unadulterated truth. In their controversies with Trinitarians and Calvinists, for example, even if it were assumed, on both sides, that every word and letter, nay the very punctuation, of canonical and genuine Scripture were inspired, it would not in their minds vary the result. But on subjects not connected with the Christian doctrine, or merely collateral and unessential, discrepancies and contradictions occur in the sacred writings which never have been reconciled by a fair and legitimate construc-

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\* Marsh's Michaelis, Vol. I. p. 72.

† *Ib.* p. 379.



tion, and never can be. It is necessary, therefore, either to adopt views of inspiration which are consistent with such discrepancies and contradictions, or give up inspiration altogether. Some persons appear to think and reason as if by embracing the extreme doctrine of a plenary inspiration, something is gained to the argument for the truth of Christianity. A moment's reflection, however, must be sufficient, it would seem, to convince every one, that its effect, on the contrary, must be merely to embarrass that argument, and, in our opinion, fatally. After taking this ground it is not sufficient, as with us, to establish the general truth and authority of the Scriptures; but even the minutest inaccuracy in history or philosophy to be found in them will be fastened on by the skeptic and the infidel, and becomes an insuperable objection. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that those who can believe in the Bible, holding at the same time the extreme doctrine of a plenary inspiration, would believe in it with infinitely less misgiving, if they felt themselves at liberty to adopt the modified form of that doctrine as held by Unitarians, and rational Christians generally. Waiving, as we purposely do in this place, the question of the correctness of Unitarian views of inspiration, and their accordance with Scripture, and considering them merely in their connexion with the evidences of Christianity, and in their bearing on faith, it is obvious, that, instead of promoting, they must have a tendency to prevent or arrest a spirit of skepticism in those who hold them, and in the community.

There is, then, nothing peculiar to Unitarianism, either in what it admits or in what it rejects, which can be justly suspected of skeptical or infidel tendencies. We shall next inquire, as proposed, whether the whole system has become justly liable to a suspicion of this nature from the manner in which it is arrived at, or in which it has been, and is, defended and maintained.

Exceptions have been taken to the extent to which Unitarians have carried their rejection of human authority, as such, in matters of faith and conscience. The radical mistake committed by those who are for ever hovering round this objection, consists in supposing that authority can exclude doubt, after doubts have arisen respecting the authority. The freedom, and in some instances the licentiousness of thought which has shown itself in modern times, has not had its ori-

gin, as some seem to imagine, in policy, or in an experiment, or in a particular inculcation, but has grown necessarily out of the progress of society and the human mind. It is idle to expect that the people, if allowed and encouraged to inquire freely on all other subjects, will long permit themselves to be hoodwinked and bound on the subject of religion. Accustomed to ask a reason for every thing else, they will ask a reason for the authority which any man, or any body of men may arrogate in matters of faith; and in this way doubts will arise respecting the authority itself, and these doubts will extend themselves, of course, to every thing resting on this authority. They may still, it is true, profess an outward respect for the authority in question, and agree to appeal to it as of final jurisdiction in order to have some means of settling or preventing controversies; but their faith is gone. It is remarkable that in the church which makes the greatest pretensions to authority, and on the whole with the best show of reason, and in countries, too, where this authority has been enforced with every advantage to be derived either from government or public opinion, skepticism and infidelity have made the most alarming inroads. Among Protestants, too, the utter inefficacy of mere authority to foreclose skeptical and infidel tendencies is manifest in the case of German anti-supernaturalism, which has arisen and grown up under an outward respect and conformity to the most orthodox creeds and establishments. All that authority can do in matters of faith, is to introduce the old distinction between esoterics and exoterics, to make it necessary for men to think with the wise and talk with the vulgar; a state of things much more likely, especially in a country like ours, to root out every vestige of a sincere and honest belief, than the most reckless spirit of innovation.

Besides, much of the skepticism which is sometimes referred to the public and free discussion of religious subjects, does not originate in these discussions, but is only brought to light by them. There is a latent and passive skepticism much more widely diffused in the community than is generally supposed, which, in our judgment, is to the full as culpable in itself, and as injurious in its moral influences, as an open and active skepticism, and much more difficult to cure. We should not regard it as an evil, therefore, even if it could be proved that the discussions provoked by Unitarianism have made

some men sensible to their doubts, and disposed in some instances to avow and defend them; for it is not until their skepticism has put on this form, that it can be fairly met either by themselves or others. If we must have an active or a passive skepticism, give us the first. An active skepticism will often cure itself, work itself clear of its difficulties; but there is no hope whatever of a man who will neither believe nor inquire. An active skepticism, moreover, does not imply an indifference to truth, nor prevent men from discriminating; so that while it leads them to deny this thing, and doubt that, it leaves their confidence in other things unimpaired, and perhaps strengthened and quickened. But it is of the nature of a latent and passive skepticism, by confounding the true with the false, and the certain with the doubtful, to spread itself gradually over the whole subject, involving natural as well as revealed religion in the same doubt, and causing them to be regarded with a like indifference, if not contempt. Under the influence of this spirit the best that men can be expected to do, is to settle down at last into the conceited and supercilious conclusion, that Christianity, whether true or not, is a good thing for society, and especially for the lower classes, and must not be disturbed. We know of nothing more likely to move an ingenuous mind to indignation, than to see one who from indolence or indifference is secretly skeptical as to all religion, joining, however, in the vulgar cry of heresy or infidelity against those who will not assent to what they do not believe. We can bear with the opposition, and even with the personal abuse of the bigot and the fanatic, for they are honest, or at least consistent; but we find it more difficult to command our feelings, when worldly, intriguing, hollow-hearted men array themselves against reform, and affect a concern for prejudices and antiquated errors, which in their hearts they despise.

Again, it has been said, that in most communities, to arrive at Unitarianism, men must give up many of the doctrines in which they were educated, and that the giving up of each of these doctrines must weaken their confidence in those which they retain. It is obvious, in the first place, that this objection does not apply to Unitarianism in any other sense than it does to every reformation, and particularly to the Protestant reformation. Besides, it proceeds in this case on a forgetfulness of the important circumstances insisted on above, that

the doctrines discarded by Unitarians were a dead weight on the whole system, and of course that the system, thus relieved, must meet with a more ready and entire assent. We are willing, nevertheless, to admit that men's confidence in simple and pure Christianity must be most perfect in those cases, in which in order to arrive at it they are not obliged to reject any human additions or corruptions with which it has been connected. From this, however, our only inference is, not that men should not be instructed in Unitarianism, but that they should never be instructed in any thing else. If a certain degree of skepticism always adheres to a mind which is conscious of having been once imposed upon and abused, the whole blame of the skepticism should certainly be thrown back on the imposition and abuse, in which it originated. If innovation in itself considered be an evil, especially in religion, the evil should be referred not to Unitarianism, but to the false views in which the people have been educated, and which in the general advancement of knowledge make innovation unavoidable. So far, too, as the charge of having actually innovated on the faith of our ancestors is concerned, it is obvious that the Orthodox of the present day, in New England certainly, are in the same condemnation. If any say, that they have not given up doctrines which they themselves deem essential and fundamental, it should be recollected that we also can say as much; for neither have we given up doctrines, which we ourselves deem essential and fundamental. If they say, on the other hand, that they have not given up doctrines deemed essential and fundamental by the first reformers, the Puritans, and their own immediate ancestors, they say what is not true. By rejecting, as they have done almost unanimously, the doctrines of imputation and particular election, for example, they have already innovated as essentially on the traditionary faith, as they would do if they were to go further, and reject the doctrine of the trinity itself.

We prefer, however, to meet this charge of innovation on its own merits. Why should it be thought necessary to defend ourselves against the imputation or suspicion of skeptical or infidel tendencies, merely because we have departed from some of the doctrines held by the first reformers? The progress of society and the human mind did not stop with their labors. On the contrary, there has never been a pe-



riod in the history of man, during which this progress has been so rapid and perceptible as during the last three centuries. We see it in every thing ; — in the disappearance of a thousand weak and debasing superstitions ; in the repeal of many useless, oppressive, and sanguinary laws ; in the great improvements which have obtained in education ; in the prevalence of a more liberal spirit on all subjects, and in the resistance felt and manifested against every form of usurpation and tyranny. Nor does this progress appear in any thing more than in those sciences necessary to the critical understanding of the Scriptures, and the effectual exposure of the pretences of false religions. Now, are we to believe, can it be imagined, that society and the human mind have been advancing for three long centuries, with unparalleled rapidity, in every thing else but religion, and even in the means of advancement in religion, and yet that in religion itself they have not advanced a single step ? Possessing the same natural powers with the first reformers, and all the advantages which they had, and many more besides, — entering, as it were, on their labors, and beginning where they left off, is it to be believed, can it be imagined, that the pious, the learned, and the inquisitive, for three long centuries, have not been able to go forward a single step ? The Protestant reformation grew out of the progress of society and the human mind, and this progress has been continually going on. Assign, then, if you can, a single earthly reason possessing even the poor merit of being merely plausible, why this reformation should not go on with its cause. The first reformers were but men, and acted as other men would have acted in the same circumstances. Is it probable then we would ask, — nay, is it possible, that mere men, uninspired men, who had but just broken away from the most degrading prejudices and superstitions, and who still thought, reasoned, and acted under circumstances the most unfavorable of all to cool and impartial deliberation, — is it possible, that such men, in the hurry and passion of a great moral revolution, could strike out at a single blow a difficult and complicated system, which in all after time would neither require revision, nor admit of correction ?

At the same time, we would not be understood to speak disparagingly of the claims which the first reformers have on our respect and gratitude. They certainly possessed many noble qualities, and we would honor these qualities ; nay more, we

would imitate them. Yes, who are the men that imitate the first reformers? — that strength and independence of mind, by which they broke from the prejudice of education; that noble daring, or rather that strict adherence to principle, with which they hesitated not to avow the convictions they felt, though new and unpopular doctrines; and the firmness with which they stood their ground against the voice of numbers, and the cry of schism, innovation, heresy. Yes, we repeat it, who are the men that imitate the first reformers? It is bringing strange names into fellowship, but it is nevertheless true that Priestley was the Luther of his times.\*

Still the alarm will be rung in our ears, You have begun to innovate on the popular faith, and you will never know where to stop. To all Protestants, and indeed to most Catholics of the present day, it would be sufficient to reply, You also have begun to innovate on the popular faith, and will not know where to stop, any better than we. But we choose to put our

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\* ‘ You say the petitioners are innovators. They deny this, and say they are antiquarians, only not superstitious enough to prefer the rust to the medal. But without availing themselves of this, they prove that the love of novelty is natural, that it puts men on inventing some things, and improving others; that new discoveries by the people call for new limitations, protections, laws from the state; that the yearly assembling of the states is an allowance of the necessity of abrogating some laws, reforming others, and making new ones. That therefore innovation is neither foreign from the nature of things in general, nor from the British constitution in particular; and they might add that almost all the great men, that have appeared in the world have owed their reputation to their skill in innovating. Their names, their busts, their books, their eulogiums, diffused through all countries, are a just reward for their innovations. When idolatry had overspread the world Moses was the minister of a grand and noble innovation. When time had corrupted the institutions of Moses, Hezekiah innovated again, destroying what even Moses had set up; and when the reformatations of others were inadequate, Jesus Christ, ascending his throne created all things new: twelve innovators went one way, seventy another, their sound went into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world, reforming and renovating the whole face of the earth. When wealth had produced power, power subjection, subjection indolence, indolence ignorance, and the pure religion of Jesus was debased, here rises an Alfred, there a Charles; Turin produces a Claude, Lyons a Waldo, England a Wickliff; the courage of Luther, the zeal of Calvin, the eloquence of Beza, the patience of Cranmer, all conspire to innovate again. Illustrious innovators! You pleaded for conscience against custom; your names will be transmitted to all posterity with deserved renown.’ *Robinson’s Arcana, Miscellaneous Works*. Vol. II, pp. 84, 85.

vindication on higher ground. Our prayer to God is, that we may never stop. We admire the declaration introduced by the Polish Unitarians into the preface to their Catechism; 'We do not think we ought to be ashamed if in some respects our church improves.' We believe with Robinson, that 'God has more light yet to break forth out of his holy word'; and besides, it is often a long time after the discovery of an important truth, before some of its most important applications are understood. We have too much confidence in Providence and in human nature to sympathize with those who

grow pale

Lest their own judgments should become too bright,  
And their free thoughts be crimes, and earth have too much light.'

A spirit is abroad, as we have said, free, bold, uncompromising and terrible as an army with banners, which is trying the opinions and institutions of the world, as by fire. It is the duty of the wise and good to endeavour to guide this spirit, to restrain its excesses, and above all to imbue it with a sincere and earnest love of truth, humanity, and God. But we fear not the issue. We believe that every accession of new light and intelligence will be found to illustrate and enforce the evidences of the Christian revelation, and give mankind a deeper and more living sense of its truth and reality.

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ART. V. — *A Liturgy for the Use of the Church at King's Chapel in Boston; collected principally from the Book of Common Prayer. Third Edition, with Alterations and Additions. Boston, 1828. 8vo. pp. 368.*

THE congregation worshipping at King's Chapel is taking the only course with regard to its Liturgy, which can make a Liturgy tolerable; the course, that is, of revision and improvement. The addition of new prayers in the present edition, we think, a special and most necessary improvement. Let a prayer-book contain a sufficient variety of devotional forms and expressions to meet all the general situations in life and the general states of mind, and especially that constitution of the mind by which variety, to a certain extent, is useful; and we have, for our own part, no violent ob-

jection to a Liturgy, and can conceive of some very good arguments in favor of it. We had rather not be tied to it. There would be times when we should wish to pour out our hearts, without the restraint of any lessons or forms. But there would also be times of less freedom, or times of weariness and exhaustion, when we should be glad to lean on forms and to frame our thoughts in the holy words of others,—times in short, when we should have power to be devout, rather than to originate devotion.

The object which we have in view in this article is connected in some points with the subject of ritual religion, and we have therefore placed at the head of it the Liturgy of King's Chapel. Our object is, to recommend more frequent and formal avowals of religious experience than are common among us ; and with a view to urge upon the attention of our readers some of the proper modes of such avowal, we wish to lay before them two general considerations. One is, the importance of fixtures and landmarks in the religious course ; and the other is the influence upon every man of an assumed character.

These points obviously bear upon ritual observances ; and we are the more willing to discuss them, because we believe that the tendency of the present times is too much to the neglect of such observances. If forms have had too much, far too much importance assigned to them in past times, this very circumstance might justly awaken our solicitude about the reaction of opinion in our own times. The Christian rites are falling into a disuse in this country, altogether unprecedented in Christendom.\* The tendencies of so singular a state of things certainly deserve to be very seriously considered. This is not a country, most assuredly, which can forego any useful means of moral discipline and restraint. And he who lightly casts aside such means, or lightly talks of his liberty to do so, may be lightly doing or saying that, which is to have an inconceivable influence upon the welfare of future generations.

Now it appears to us, that in the way of life and in the

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\* This tendency of opinion in our country is seen even in the Society of Friends, the leading anti-formalist party in the Christian world. The peculiarities of dress in that Society, which there is a growing inclination to lay aside, were as truly a form and a profession, as the Communion is among other sects.



way of generations, there should be distinct and formal recognitions of the religious principle ; and this is what we mean by fixtures and landmarks in the religious course. Every child, we are disposed to say,—every youth, every man, every people should be brought, at certain times and seasons, to the regular, stated, and solemn acknowledgment and cultivation of religion, as the great source of their happiness, and the great end of their being. If religion be such, and if, at the same time, it is not, any more than knowledge, spontaneous in its growth, why should it not be so cultivated ? Why should not moral culture be carried on by processes just as exact and as well defined, as intellectual culture ? Admit that there is a principle or power of religion in the mind, as there is a principle or power of intelligence. The most liberal philosopher and legislator for the mind would not, probably, demand any more. But the principle of intelligence is sent to school. It has lessons and tasks appointed for it. They should, indeed, be as carefully as possible adapted to the mind, and should possess as little as possible the character of *mere* tasks, and there may be, after all, a great deal of imperfection about them. Still no one hesitates to introduce them into the course of education. There are, also, regular gradations in the mental course, and distinct periods of instruction, and probation, and profession. Why should not a similar course be pursued with the religious principle ? Why so much dread or dislike, as some entertain, of catechisms and confirmations, and of the communion service ? If knowledge is an object of rational pursuit and acquisition, so is religion. If the one is difficult to acquire, so is the other. But, should we think it safe to let the principle of intelligence take its chance for improvement in the world, without appointing for it any steps, or processes, or plans ? Why, then, should we think this of the religious principle ?

We have been careful, let it be observed, to speak of the general principle of intelligence in this comparison. There are specific and technical acquisitions of knowledge which to a certain extent distinguish it from religion. But if the object were to educate bare intelligence ; if it were to train, for instance, the power of reasoning, to its greatest strength and perfection, it is obvious that plans and processes would be arranged for so doing. The pupil would not be left to

slide along, as he might, into the perfection of this great faculty. The teacher, the parent, would not be content with saying, 'that he wished his child to be intelligent; that he intended now and then, on proper occasions, to remind him of the importance of possessing this character; that intelligence, like the sunshine, ought to be every where, and that there is danger of locating and confining it, or that it is a free principle, and that there is danger of enslaving or biasing it.' No; 'the vision and faculty divine,'—divine though it be,—he would train; he would guard; he would educate. And the question is, Why shall he not do the same thing with the religious nature?

But we must urge something farther with regard to the case just stated. This gliding along in the moral course without any definite purpose, without any distinct landmarks, realizes to our view one of the most alarming representations of spiritual negligence. It is thus that childhood glides into youth, and youth into manhood, and manhood into declining years, and the man sinks to moral perdition, because he was never led at any one point to inquire whither he was going; because no stated hour of meditation and prayer, no season of self-examination, no appointed and solemn recognition of religion, ever called him to consider what he was, or for what he was preparing. The parent, with this vague feeling about religion, has no definite plan for the religious instruction of his child; unless it be a plan to exclude every thing definite. No lessons must be set for him; no evening prayers must rise by his couch of rest; nor is the place of these supplied by frequent and earnest conversation with the child, on the great themes of piety. What, now, is, and must be, the result? Childhood steals away, with its bright dream, and with no more distinct track. As it knows nothing but what it is taught, and is taught no religion, no impressions on this momentous theme mark the footsteps of early years. Youth comes, but is signalized by no memorials of piety. If some religious impressions are felt, in entering upon the threshold of life, and this is not uncommon at that interesting period, yet nothing is done to fix or confirm these impressions; the mind is not led to habitual, daily prayer, or to that solemn profession of religious purposes which is so becoming and beautiful, as an inaugural act, a consecration to the great duties of a moral existence. With no moral fixtures, with no

distinct mementos, with no holy pledges, this early susceptibility of religious impression yields to the power of active employments; there is no landmark or barrier lifted up amidst the tide of business or pleasure; and negligent youth sinks almost unconsciously into worldly manhood. And thus life passes on, and passes away; and comes to its close, perhaps, with the astounding conviction, that little or nothing has been distinctly done or even determined, with regard to the great end for which life was given.

Would it not, probably, have been otherwise, if religious impressions had had their due importance and prominence distinctly and openly assigned to them; if there had been visible memorials of the religious life to mark its progress; if the traveller in his moral pilgrimage had, from time to time, set up altars, and worshipped the God of life? We cannot possibly doubt, that stated meditations and solemn pledges, justly regarded, would be of great moral service; that the gathering up of religious purposes, in daily prayer, or in the communion season, would help, and strengthen, and further many, who are now faltering in the right way, or forgetting what that way is.

Let it not be thought that we would set any usages in competition with the importance of individual conviction. The question is, How is individual conviction most likely to be awakened, and how can it best be sustained? It is undoubtedly a delicate question. There should not be too much form nor too little, if we can find the medium. But our conviction is, that the public mind is leaning to a neglect of forms which is inexpedient and dangerous.

The forms of religion are forms of avowal; and this, as we have stated, it is our object to urge. With reference to this object, let us now dwell for a moment on the other general consideration; namely, the influence upon every man of an assumed character.

Men are commonly treated with decided reference to the character in which they choose to pass in the world. It is usually thought the part of politeness to do so. The employments or the amusements which their friends devise to occupy or to entertain them will be influenced, in general, by this consideration of their taste and habits. Especially will this be true of the conversation addressed to them. If the topics of a man's discourse are always worldly or trifling; if

he never says any thing on religion ; if he rather avoids the subject ; if it is difficult to draw him into any free and hearty discussion of it ; if, so far from professing religion, he rather professes, by his manner, and perhaps by his words, to be out of his proper sphere when speaking of it ; he will, in almost all cases, be treated accordingly. And although he may feel a strong interest in the subject at times, he must expect to forego the advantages of frequent and friendly intercourse upon it. It is indeed a serious loss. How many friendly interviews are there, and especially with the young, in which all free and kind interchange of thought on this holy and heart-awakening theme are avoided, from certain foolish, almost unaccountable, and chilling reserves that prevail with regard to it !

But if a man is treated by others, as he chooses to be considered, it is still more important to observe, that his own treatment of himself is in a great measure governed by the same rule. There is scarcely any thing from which a man more habitually *acts*, than from reference to this assumed character. If any one would be thought to possess courage, he almost insensibly puts on the manner indicative of that quality, and strives, almost without knowing it, to possess the quality itself. Or, if he is ambitious, if he would be thought to be distinguished for talents, or wealth, or influence, his manners insensibly take that tone ; and they tend directly and strongly to form the very character which he assumes.

This influence of an assumed character is indeed of immense importance, *because* it acts with such a certain and almost blind fidelity ; because it accompanies a man, like a kind of presence, an unsought, but ever admonishing presence, which constantly says to him, 'Is this proper for you ? is this suitable for such as you profess to be ? is this in character ?'

Now to bring this principle in aid of religious culture, avowal is necessary. It is necessary that we should say, either in direct terms, or by the frequent tenor of our conversation, or else, by some more formal profession,—by some of these means or by all of them, it is necessary to say, that we hold religion to be a serious and important concern ; that we purpose to make it an end ; that we do not intend to consign it to the care of others, but to make it our own care. Nothing therefore, as it seems to us, can be of greater moral disser-



vice to a man, than to be habitually saying, that 'he is not a religious man; that every body knows he is not a religious man; that he does not profess any thing of that sort.' And absolute silence, or absolute reserve may say this, as effectually as any set declaration. And certainly, nothing can be of worse consequence, for this reason among others, that no man will rise above the measure of his deliberate intentions. If any man assumes for himself this negative character in religion, what has he to do, but to conform to it, and to follow it out? What more likely than that he will for ever *be* the negligent man that he chooses to be thought? What more fatal though unworthy apology for his negligence than that he never pretends to any interest about these matters.

Such is this influence of a professed or adopted character, that rectitude itself is oftentimes not so strong a bond as consistency. How commonly will a man give up an argument, when his consistency is appealed to, without any attempt to plead the right or to question the wrong upon the absolute truth of the case. 'You have often said thus and thus,' or, 'you have always done this or that,' is final and decisive with most persons, though the matter in question be utterly indefensible by any better reason.

Now it is a dictate of wisdom, which we would urge, to bring this sense of the demands of consistency, this influence of a professed character, into the service of religion. Let any one who has come to feel the claims of this great subject upon him, who is conscious of his weakness at the same time, who feels the need of every lawful bond that will hold him to his duty, let him give pledges, in his conversation, and in more express and formal acts, of his interest in religion and of his purposed adherence to its ways. Dwelling amidst a negligent generation, liable to fall by easy acquiescence into evil or worldly courses, let him openly and nobly say with Joshua, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

We will now proceed to consider, as we proposed, some of the proper methods of this avowal.

It is a mistake, as we regard it, to confine the idea of professing religion to a single act,—the observance of the rite of the Lord's Supper. This is not the only form of avowal; and we intend to discuss others. But it is one form, and, indeed, it is the only public form of avowal; and as such demands attention.

It may not be improper here to refer to what has been formerly said in the *Christian Examiner* on the subject of the communion; since the essays referred to, not only contain nothing inconsistent with what we shall now advance, but are rather fitted, so far as they go, to aid our present purpose. It was maintained in the first place, that this ordinance is no holier, and intrinsically no more solemn, than other rites of Christianity, — no more strict or sacred, than other modes of attention to divine truth, than other forms of devotion, than other modes of communing with religion. It was contended, in the second place, that there is no mark of exclusion designed to be set upon this ordinance, that no minister nor church is authorized to step between any man and his conscience in this matter, that the table of the communion is spread for all Christians, as freely as the gates of the sanctuary are opened to them. And in the third place, an attempt was made to assign this form of religious meditation and worship its proper rank among the means of grace. The conviction was expressed that it does not, and did not originally, hold that first place, which is now commonly conceded to it, among the methods of religious influence. This opinion was supported by the Apostolic judgment, that the world is to be saved, not by the communion, but by preaching; ‘by the foolishness of preaching,’ as it is modestly termed.

With these views of this ancient Christian ordinance, we have not been, of course, nor are we now, able to urge it as of the first importance. We have not been, nor are we now, able to urge it, as, among visible indications, the great dividing line between salvation and perdition. But it still holds a very prominent place as an avowal of religious affections and purposes, and in this light it deserves to be very seriously considered by all who would promote the cause of religion in themselves or others.

We see the world hurrying on, in the eager and almost exclusive pursuit of palpable and perishing objects. We see it forgetful to an extent that pains, and sometimes alarms us with fears for the very existence of religion, — forgetful, we say, of God and of eternity. What is all this coming to? Whither is this flood of cares and pleasures and vanities driving men? Where shall religion find some secure refuge, — some ark of safety? These are the agitating questions. Now, if we know that there are some who deeply feel the value of

this great interest, it is natural certainly to ask, whether they might not do something by uniting and expressing, even in a formal manner, their sense of its value.

Let us refer, for our guidance, to some kindred examples. Let us suppose that we lived in a community where the grossest dishonesty was prevalent, where the most enormous frauds were daily, openly, and boldly committed. Suppose that we felt the want of some equally open, and, at the same time, combined and concentrated testimony against them. Would it be an unnatural thing for us to join with others in publicly disclaiming such practices, and in avowing openly our purpose at every risk to abstain from them? Suppose, again, that our country were suffering under the oppressions of an arbitrary government, and that a patriotic band were formed to work out its deliverance. Would it not seem very proper that they should commence that enterprise with a solemn declaration of their intentions, and with mutual pledges of fidelity to the cause? We do not desire to stretch these comparisons to an unreasonable extent. But we do conceive that the irreligion of the world is so great, as to make it desirable that some express and solemn and formal testimony should be lifted up against it. We do conceive, that the cause of human nature, the cause not of earthly, but of divine freedom, is borne down with such a tremendous power of prevailing hostility and evil example, that some visible stand should be taken for it,—that there should be somewhere a rallying point for what is good against what is evil.

We do not say that the ordinance of the Lord's Supper is a rallying point for all the good there is in the world. We know that many virtuous and pious men have difficulties of various kinds with regard to it. But we think it might be made the ground of a solemn pledge to religion, and of a sacred union in its cause.

Must it needs be thought that there would be more zeal than modesty, in taking this ground? We are persuaded, there might be both; and both in a form, which could offend no reasonable, and at the same time religious mind. A man might say on this subject,—and would it not be the language of sobriety and humility? would it not be a language that ought to command universal respect?—he might say, 'I am conscious that I am not decidedly enough what I ought to be; I am impressed with the transcendent value and happiness of

a religious life. It is the life above all others that I would lead. But I have reason to fear that I shall waver from the strict virtue, sobriety, and godliness which are my chief interest; and I am willing to come under any pledges that will help to secure me. It is not pride, I trust, but humility, that brings me to lay my hand on the altar of God, and to pay my vows to him. Why should I hesitate,' might he continue to say, 'why should I hesitate for any slight or ordinary causes, from any over-refined delicacy, from any sensitiveness to the world's opinion or to the world's estimate of the act, about giving this weighty testimony? Why should I hesitate?' might he repeat. 'Earth, with all its vanities, is soon to pass away. Heaven and eternity will soon be all to me. I have thoughts within me, that visit that eternity, and make me feel unutterably how poor are the objects that the great world is seeking after. I have thoughts within me, that visit that eternity; and I would erect some altars to them, on this shore of time. I care nothing so much for this passing world, as I care to leave these testimonies in it. The altar of communion is not the only altar of testimony, I know; but this is already builded, and I will lay my offering upon it. I will lay it there, with faith in that blood, which first sprinkled and consecrated it. Thousands there are to bring their offerings to every shrine of honor, wealth, and pleasure. Thousands there are, to pay homage to the great and powerful. Multitudes gather to the civic feast, in honor of the glorious dead. I would celebrate the memory of a being more glorious than any that ever has appeared on the earth. I would do this in remembrance of my Saviour, because it is a remembrance which is so commonly lost and left out of sight amidst worldly pretensions and vanities. I am the more willing to do this by an unusual action; I am willing to do that which may appear to our customs, strange and extraordinary, for the sake of giving a more marked testimony of my reverence for this great Being. It is a testimony, in which I have cause to glory, more than in all the honors of the world. I will not offer it in secret. I will not offer it merely in the secret truth and sincerity of my own heart. It is a good profession, and I will profess it before many witnesses.'

Be it so, that there are difficulties about this ordinance. We admit that there are many, which have accumulated upon us from times of early superstition, and times of later exclusiveness. The ordinance is generally shut up within the pale of



examinations and votes, and professions of faith, as, we think, it ought not to be. All this is of the later growth. But there is an old superstition about it, which creates still more difficulty. There is, in fact, a state of feeling about this rite, which goes far, it seems to us, towards disqualifying many persons from the useful observance of it. We are willing to say so much, not, in the issue, to discourage any, but to lead them, if our opinion may have any weight, to examine their own misgivings about the ordinance. Christian superstition seems to have its last strong-hold in the mysteries of the communion. We venture to doubt, if they will pardon the presumption, whether the body of any of our Christian congregations has yet advanced far enough to make the entirely simple, natural, and just use of it; whether the body of any of our congregations is prepared to approach this rite, with feelings as free and unembarrassed, as those of the primitive Christians.

If there were this preparation of mind, we should feel that most of the difficulties were removed, which now lie in our way to urging the observance; and we believe that most of the difficulties that hinder serious minds from approaching it, would be removed by the same means. And therefore, to obviate objections in this case, the proper course seems to be, to rectify misapprehensions. Let our people be induced, as the first thing, to take a calm and liberal view of this ceremony. What is it, and what is its purpose? It is nothing more than an emblematic representation of Jesus Christ in the most affecting era of his history, in the most sublime manifestation of his virtues, in that closing scene, which visibly consummated his great redeeming work. It is a 'showing forth' of that scene of agony and death, which was designed to save us from death,—from the death of the soul,—from the curse and woe and death of sin. And the purpose of this celebration on our part is nothing more than to express our reverence and affection for this great and glorious Benefactor, and to declare our intention of being governed by his spirit and religion. Is it not meet that we should feel such sentiments? And if they are felt by us, is it not meet that we should express them? If it were proposed to celebrate the virtues and services of any more ordinary benefactor,—to honor, for instance, the memory of Washington, in a feast, and thus to pledge ourselves to the cultivation of his lofty spirit

of patriotism, there would be no difficulty to our minds in the way of such an observance. It will be said, perhaps, that the communion is more spiritual and solemn. But is this an objection in the view of beings, whose spiritual welfare — the very object of Christ's mission — is commended to them as a most momentous and solemn trust, and a trust for eternity? Surely the observance need be none the less interesting for being solemn; and it may, in perfect consistency with that sentiment, be cheering, elevating, and gratifying to all the noblest sentiments of the mind. It was thus that the ancients were wont to cherish the remembrance of their departed friends and benefactors. Nor has that affecting custom gone into entire disuse in modern times. We may have frequently seen a similar homage rendered to departed associates in the festivals of various literary societies among us; and it is not easy to witness that reverent posture, that silence, and that solemn and sad emotion, in the throng of the joyous feast, without being touched and elevated by the spectacle.

It is true, indeed, that the communion is not now, as it was originally, a feast. In this respect it has lost a portion of its natural, primitive character. It is now only the emblem of a feast; it is doubly symbolical, representing a feast, as well as the great facts and truths originally signified by it. But it is probably more safe, as well as more suitable to the growing refinement of the world, as an emblem, than if it were a feast. It is true too, that homages of this kind to the dead, are not so common in our days, as they were among the ancients. But although there is something more unusual to our feelings in this ceremony, and more difficult to communicate with, and more liable, therefore, to the perversions of superstitions, can it require any thing more than a resolute effort at just thinking, to overcome these obstacles?

If they cannot be overcome by any of those who are invited to this form of religious observance, if the communion cannot, by any reasonable endeavour, be made interesting or useful to them; if men can be drawn to it only by a compulsory sense of duty, without any consciousness of advantage; if there can be no voluntary and happy approach to this, such as there is to other ordinances of devotion; if churches, in fact, can be built up and sustained only by officiousness and importunity on the part of the minister, in persuading this and that man, that he is a suitable person and had better

come to this ordinance ; — if all this be so, and so unavoidably, we are disposed to say that the rite of the Lord's Supper were better neglected, than abused in this manner. But we submit it to the reflection of our readers, whether this is necessary, and we desire no hasty answer. We ask whether there may not be a rational, just, and useful participation in an occasion so interesting on many accounts to all devout Christians? We ask them to consider, whether, if all among us, who feel an interest in religion, should come forward and thus publicly avow it, — whether, we say, it would not be attended with the happiest effects upon themselves, and upon society? If they think that it would be ; if they think that it would quicken and strengthen the sentiments of virtue and devotion among us ; if they think that so vast and transcendent an interest, — that chiefly for which life ought to be dear, — might be thus promoted, then we ask again, whether any slight difficulties, real or imaginary, shall prevent Christian men from giving the aid of their example and testimony to a cause, for which our blessed Saviour thought it not too much to give up his life?

We have said that this testimony is the only *public* recognition, which we can make of our religious obligations. It is the only public form of avowal, which our religious institutions provide for us ; and this consideration, it seems to us, even if we had objections to the mode, is one of great force. Attendance at church is not any express avowal of religious feeling. It does not amount, in fact, to a declaration of belief in Christianity. The only public, formal, and authorized expression, now understood as such, of belief in Christianity, and that connected with a serious purpose to obey its precepts, is to be found in the sacramental vows of the communion table. Is it not desirable that there should be such an expression, — public, formal, and unquestionable? Is it not proper and expedient that the great interest of life and of being should be thus openly and solemnly recognised, thus acknowledged in the presence of each other, thus avowed before heaven and earth? 'Heaven and earth shall pass away ;' and this great purpose and profession of the soul shall then stand, as the only thing sacred from the universal wreck ; the only thing intrinsically great, momentous, and sublime. If that stupendous consummation, foretold in prophecy, were about to break upon us now, would it not be

announced by solemn tokens? Would there not be harbingers in the sky to proclaim it? Could any tokens be too solemn for its annunciation? But here is that in the moral creation which shall triumph over all material changes, that great aim of life, that great design of being, whose goings forth are to eternity; and is it not proper that its adoption and progress should be signalized by tokens equally significant and striking? We will not submit to any worldly judgment in this matter; for that judgment will say that we talk all in figures, and it will feel as if we spoke only of useless forms, or of forms disproportionate to the importance of the subject. But let us suppose the transcendent power, and the all-engrossing importance of religion, to be felt among us, as they ought to be, — felt as if all things else were but the passing shadows of existence — and would form and avowal be thought such great matters as they now are, and possession and reality so small, in the comparison? For really the feelings of many go to this extent, that they think more anxiously of a profession of religion, than of the possession of it; that emblems are more serious things to them, than realities; that the sacramental service is more solemn to them, than the feelings which it is designed to express and confirm. Let religion be the great reality that it should be, possessing the whole soul with its unspeakable grandeur and importance, and then forms, representations, avowals would fall into their proper place, — would assume their just character. They would be put on as an easy and appropriate costume, and not as the strange and awkward mummery of a masquerade habit, where the wearer is thinking more of his dress than of himself. They would be worn as a suitable and graceful garment, to clothe, to cheer, and strengthen, and not as rigid fetters, hindering every free and manly step of the mind.

Expressions, emblems, forms would then be natural, and not the artificial things which they now usually are. It is a weak and low state of spiritual feeling, or a narrow range of reflection; it is a spirit of bondage, and not of liberty, that makes them the artificial or the awful things which they now are to many. For we contest altogether the common idea, that a high degree of religious expansion and refinement of mind, naturally lead their possessor to entertain an inveterate dislike or dread of forms. He who can look upon the communion but as an awful, a fearful rite, seems to us, to be yet in



an early stage of Christian experience. The full liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and made us welcome, too, to this feast of remembrance, will enable us to partake of it, with a mind, as calm, as free, as natural, as that with which we approach any other religious duty. The truth is, that some who think themselves too far advanced for the use of forms, are not yet advanced far enough, are not yet liberal enough for the right use of them. They are as much in bondage to the dread of forms, as others have been in bondage to the admiration of them. They are as superstitious in the rejection, as others have been in the observance of them. The same superstitious feeling is experienced by the communicant, when he is possessed with a peculiar and almost painful dread, at the moment of partaking of the elements; as if it were the emblem, rather than the occasion, the eating or drinking, rather than the great avowal, that is solemn. This is a relic of the doctrine of the *real presence*.

But to return; we say that forms are natural to the mind. They are so in every thing besides religion, and there is no just reason why they should not be in that. What are forms indeed, but expressions of the mind within; and, in this respect, of the same nature with language. The marriage ceremony is essentially nothing else but the expression or declaration of a certain purpose. It is a formality in some respects, very trying to most minds, inasmuch as most minds naturally shrink from so public a declaration of some of their most interesting sentiments and purposes. But its utility vindicates it; so that he is generally considered as the most dangerous enemy of society, who would propose its abolition. We might cite many other instances, and derive an argument *a fortiori* for forms in religion. An entrance upon civil office is solemnized by forms, by oaths of inauguration. May not the entrance of the mind upon its great religious work be marked likewise by solemn and repeated professions of its intention and by vows of fidelity? The privilege of citizenship in our country cannot be obtained but by passing through certain forms of naturalization, by giving pledges of allegiance to the government. May not those, who would be 'no more strangers, but of the household of faith,' who would be citizens in the kingdom of Christ, may they not properly be called upon to make similar professions and give similar pledges? Nay, and a man will not enter upon extensive trav-

els without announcing his purpose, and giving many indications of his purpose. May not the traveller to eternity enter upon that course, which is to conduct him onward for ever, with similar declarations of his solemn purpose, and with tokens equally distinct and prominent of the stupendous undertaking he has set before him?

We have now stated the views which have impressed our own minds, not indeed with the supreme importance, but with the reasonableness and utility of that avowal of religious purposes, which is implied in an attendance upon the communion. We have not thought it necessary to take up any space in our pages with urging it as a prescribed duty. It has seemed to us, that it is too much regarded as a mere duty, as a thing necessary to be done, without any distinct conceptions of its propriety or advantage. We have therefore dwelt on these. We fear there are many, that actually partake of the communion, who would retire from it, if they did not feel that the bond of an express injunction is on them. It must indeed be difficult, as we think, for any man, with the New Testament in his hands, to free his conscience from that bond. But still it must be unfortunate, that it should be regarded as a *mere* injunction, binding for no intelligible reason, strengthened by no obvious ties of interest, or intrinsic fitness. A duty which is performed more as a mechanical than as a moral action, which is done, because it presses on the conscience as something that must be done, while there is no experience or hope of advantage or improvement, is scarcely the duty of a rational being.

We are aware, let us add in passing to consider another mode of avowal, that it may be thought that the strongest objection to the observance in question lies in the very view which has been presented of it, as an avowal of religious experience. It may be said by many, that the avowal required goes beyond their experience, that the pledge is one which they are afraid they shall not redeem, and that altogether it places them in an unfair position before society, and must subject them to a scrutiny which they are unwilling to undergo.

This objection, as it applies equally to all the other modes of avowal, we will reserve for examination, till we have gone through with the whole subject. We proceed then, in the next place, to consider that acknowledgment of God and of

religious truths and interests, which ought, as we think, to be made in our *families*.

When we look upon a family, when we contemplate it, as a company of human beings passing through a most solemn and perilous trial for happiness and heaven, when we observe there the most intimate of all relationships, exerting too the most direct and powerful of all moral influences, when we know that nothing but the true love of God, and of one another, can make that family happy, that this alone can make all duties easy, and alleviate all trials, and smooth all difficulties, and soften all harsh and angry thoughts ; when we consider how soon it shall pass away from the earth, away to its everlasting destiny, — how soon and how certainly sickness, separation, death shall come in the midst of all its earthly joys and hopes, — we ask, if nothing of all this shall be openly and fully recognised in its dwelling ? That dwelling itself is mouldering to dust, and a century or two hence the passing winds shall bear no sound of mirth or grief from all its desolate chambers ; — shall no altars be set up there to the hopes that are immortal, and no voices be lifted to the regions of everlasting life ? Toils and temptations, and cares and anxieties and tears are in that dwelling ; shall there be no prayers, no holy communing with the sacred page, no common, no united resort to the sources of relief, and comfort, and strength ? Youth is there taking its deepest impressions, and it is going forth to struggle with the perils and sorrows of life, — the youth of the immortal is there, and it is there taking its eternal biases ; shall not religion be lifted up before its eyes visibly, as the great hope of a happy life, and of a blessed eternity ?

Why shall it not ? The objection that there is a want of time is too trivial to be discussed. The want of competency on the part of the heads of families cannot be fairly alleged. If it were so, that any one felt himself unable to lead the devotions of others, or if he felt it difficult to present himself in so new a character before his family, could he not, at least, daily read the Scriptures in the presence of his assembled household ? Might he not introduce, as a part of his domestic arrangements, the practice, at some hour of the morning or evening, of reading the Bible or some book of devotion, for religious improvement ; and would not silent meditation and prayer, or more direct and formal worship, very soon and nat-

urally follow? If any one says, that a stated practice of this kind might sometimes call upon him, when his mind was unprepared or averse to it, and might thus lead him into bondage or mockery, instead of real and free devotion, then, at least, let him begin to do this occasionally, and endeavour to acquire the habit, which he might do, of making it constantly interesting. Or, if any one says, that he doubts about formal services of any kind, but that he will often speak to his children and domestics, of moral principle, of inward purity, of the love of God, and of prayer, as the chief interest and end of life, then let him do this faithfully and heartily. Let him do this, with feeling and fervor, and it will not be long, we are persuaded, before he will feel it neither strange nor irksome, to bow in solemn and cheerful worship before the Father of spirits and the God of all mercies.

We are not strenuous about the form, but we do insist that in some form, or in some way, religion should be acknowledged in our families more than is usually done, as the supreme object of life, and the only guide to eternity. Circumstances never assume their proper character, things never take their just place, in our families, till religion is thus elevated to its rightful supremacy among us. Till this is done, domestic life has no lofty aim; events, that are daily taking place in every family, have no clear interpreter; success and disappointment, sickness and health, are mere earthly accidents, and fulfil no high or sacred ministry. Is it not suitable that religion, Heaven's chief agent and interpreter and guide, should stand thus visibly before us? When Moses had delivered the great commandment to the Israelites, saying, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might,' he added, 'And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house and upon thy gates.'

This passage was literally interpreted and obeyed among the Jews, though it is thought by most commentators, that in making frontlets, or pieces of parchment, with certain senten-



ces of the law written upon them, to bind upon the forehead, as also upon the hands, they were too literal. It is observable, however, that among the Jews and most other nations, the usages of domestic piety have been much more common than among ourselves. In the earliest periods of the history of most nations, the master of a family, and the ruler of a people, almost invariably fulfilled the office of a priest, by offering libations and sacrifices. Among Christian nations, in former times, there have been many indications of the same character; — private oratories, or places of prayer, sacred images, with frequent homages to them, in every dwelling, and many other visible tokens of its dedication to religion, and to God. It would be most grateful to believe, if we could lawfully do so, that while the direct indications of domestic devotion have been declining in modern times, those which are indirect and more unequivocal have been increasing. We know that indirect manifestations of character are often the most decisive and unquestionable. We often see, for instance, the spirit of covetousness or of ambition, spreading itself through a family, and so thoroughly imbibed and so fully acted on, that it is frequently most obvious, when least ostentatious, — most evident, when least intended to be manifest. If any one prefers thus to exhibit his religion in his family, we will take him at his own proposition; — let us see it thus exhibited, as the ruling principle. It will not always show itself by indirect disclosures; it will carry visible rules and regulations in its train, as every governing principle does. What, for instance, does the ambitious man do for his child? He sets him tasks, he labors to arouse him to emulation, he talks with him often, directly, and feelingly on the point, which he has at heart. What interest does he show in his dependents? He endeavours to train them to his purposes; he instils his lessons into their memories; he teaches them distinctly the part they have to act; he strives by every means to kindle and inflame their zeal. Thus let the pious man act for the great cause of religion, — not doing barely what is set down for him, or what will appease his conscience, but doing all that he can do or devise, in furtherance of so precious and momentous an interest. His family, his children, the beings for whom he is bound as their superior to care, the cherished and beloved, have no other such interest at stake as this. Honors may thicken upon them, wealth may lavish upon them its treasures, but the

time is hasting to them when all earthly accumulation and aggrandizement shall be as nothing in their eyes ; when affliction, sickness, death shall come, and they shall thank him more for one hour's timely instruction, for one word of religious tenderness spoken to them in some former and well remembered hour, than for all the gifts that the fortune or fame of his house can bestow upon them. O then, when the eye of affection fixes its last, earnest gaze upon any one of us, it will not be wealth or splendor, to which it shall turn ; it will not be the evidences of worldly prosperity that shall pass before it ; it will not be those images which have been set up in our households, to pride or the love of display ; but it will be our prayers, upon which the eye of memory shall linger ; it will be the sacred page spread before our family ; it will be the seasons of pious communing together ; it will be the teaching and the tender voice of parental love and authority, that guideth to heaven.

There is another mode of avowal, on which, if our readers will bear with us, we wish to offer some remarks. We are not willing entirely to pass over the subject of *conversation*, and the duty of taking a stand for religion in the intercourse of society and friendship ; in that sphere of life where we spend so many hours, and exert so powerful an influence. Society, conversation, speech, is not yet consecrated to religion and to God, as it ought to be ; and there is probably a weaker sense of obligation, in this respect, than in most others.

Yet nothing, perhaps, more distinctly marks a man, or makes a more distinct impression with regard to his character, than his conversation. This, therefore, is, in the very nature of things, one of the most important modes of religious profession, or avowal. We may partake of the communion ; we may read the Scriptures in our families ; we may make formal prayers, with great earnestness ; and yet, if we never say any thing of religion, the avowal is incomplete. Our formal acts of acknowledgment, indeed, may be before the world, and so far is well ; but without the testimony of hearty and habitual conversation, our acquaintances and friends can never feel that the interests of religion have possession of our minds, as other great interests have. They may say of any one, 'He is a professor ; he prays ; he is a serious man' ; but they will never feel to the very heart, that he is a Christian. 'Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' It

speakeeth so in other things ; and it must speak so in religion, to give satisfactory assurance of the principle within.

Let it not be said, as if that were any thing contrary to the view now stated, that '*actions speak louder than words.*' Actions *fulfill* the profession of our lips. Actions are not avowal, but the accomplishment of our vows. We mean, of course, the ordinary actions of a virtuous, holy life. There are certain specific and formal acts, such as that of celebrating the Lord's Supper and that of domestic devotion, which are of the nature of avowal. Such, also, are a very constant attendance at church, and a decided part taken in all good religious enterprises. They serve, to some extent, to *point out* a man, as interested in religion. But the ordinary tenor of his life is to show, whether he is so interested, not whether he professes to be. It is the proof, not the pledge. And however important and indispensable it is as proof, this is not the point now before us. The subject, with which we are now engaged, is that lesser, but still very important subject, the pledge.

In proposing that this pledge or expression of religious feeling should be freely and frankly given in conversation, we would not recommend what often passes under the name, and is considered as bearing the peculiar character of '*religious conversation.*' There is a talking upon religion with preciseness and formality, with reluctance and constraint, with artificial solemnity or sadness, which is the avowal in fact, not of religious feeling, but of the want of it. We would ask no expression from any one of what does not exist in him. But where it does exist, where there is a true and heartfelt interest in this great subject, then, we would say, let the lips declare what the heart feels. The wonderful faculty of speech was designed to express the thoughts within ; and surely it ought not to withhold its testimony from those sentiments and affections that are due to the great Giver. '*Because thy loving-kindness is better than life,*' says the Psalmist, '*my lips shall praise thee.*'

But how may this avowal be properly given in conversation? It may be given in the intimacy and confidence of friendship. We may say to our friends more, perhaps, than it would be proper to say to the world at large. We may express to them, not only the deep interest we feel in the subject, but our fears, also, our anxieties, our difficulties. We

may unfold to them, whatever is peculiar in the state of our minds. We may speak of our peculiar temptations, of the sins that most easily beset us, of the passions, or of the circumstances, that threaten our moral welfare. Men speak thus freely to one another of the affairs of business. They lay open their difficulties, and ask counsel of those in whom they can confide. Why should they not use the same freedom, and obtain the same aid, in the religious concerns of the mind? The difficulties are as great, surely, and the exigencies are as critical, as they are in business. And they would often be relieved, simply by disclosure, and by the affectionate sympathy and the friendly communication that would follow. Why should not this be done, we repeat. Why should not they whose friendship, but for religion, would be only like the breath that utters it, a transient emotion, a kindling warmth, soon to be lost in the region of cold and eternal oblivion, — why should they not speak of that in which they trust to be friends for ever? Why should not they, who are travelling together the path to heaven, sometimes refer in their discourse to the bright and boundless prospect before them? Why, if any thing is to be common between kindred minds, should not religion be common in their mutual recognition, and familiar in their friendly conversation? And yet, in some minds even of considerable religious sensibility, religion is the one and only subject, of which they never speak even to their most intimate friends! The lips, though touched as with ‘a coal from the altar’ of their secret meditations, are sealed in a strange and almost superstitious silence!

In the next place, there is frequent occasion for a reference to the most exalted principles of religion, in the ordinary intercourse of life. Common conversation is to a very great extent worldly, — worldly, we mean, not merely in its topics, but in its principles, and more worldly too, than the feelings of many, who engage in it, can justify; and yet they seldom have the moral courage, perhaps, to do justice to their own misgivings. The feeling, it may be, is strong within a man, that he cannot agree with the tone of conversation that is passing in this or that company with which he is present; but the feeling that is so worthy to be expressed, is stifled in false shame, instead of being put forward in the shape of a manly and ingenuous testimony. The character of the absent, for instance, may be discussed in a manner and spirit that are felt to be



wrong, and yet no one, perhaps, checks the course of unkind criticism or slanderous insinuation, by saying that it is wrong.

Of the thousands of passing events and circumstances, that furnish the topics of ordinary conversation, there are few that may not be made the subjects of moral discrimination ; there are few, in regard to which there is not a right and a wrong, — a wrong to be condemned without fear or favor, and a right to be contended for, in the same spirit. The testimony of honest and conscientious minds is not yet lifted as high as it ought to be, against mercantile fraud and disingenuity, against selfish cunning and cruel oppression in business. There is much that passes in the world as the way of the world, which deserves and greatly needs, for its reform, the most serious reprobation. The excessive coveting of property, the constant violation of promises in business, the unconscionable expedients often resorted to by clients in litigations, amounting in too many instances to the actual subornation of perjury, the universal leaning to self in every project and plan, — all this is apt to be lightly spoken of for the worst of all reasons, that of its commonness and prevalence. A searching and reproving eye must be fixed upon these and all other gross moral evils, a decided voice must be raised against them, if they are ever to be corrected. Let men, let good men, speak for this cause of truth and righteousness, if they would ever speak for any thing. Let them know that no practices can long stand against a strong moral feeling in the community, if that feeling can once be put in array against them. Let them know that sin is emboldened, is almost kept in countenance, by their worldly laxity, acquiescence, indifference, or timidity. Let us have stronger and more decided words spoken for the good, and against the evil ; the words of lofty and uncompromising rebuke against the wrong, or the more powerful words of a deep, desolate sorrow for it. Let us, also, sometimes hear men say, amidst the din and strife of this world's care, and labor, and business, — let them say to ears that will not mistake it, 'These things are not the chief good ; the things of this world are passing away from us like the images of a dream ; let us not set our hearts upon them, let us not sacrifice one monition of conscience, one breathing of pure and pious affection for all earthly goods ; in heaven let our treasures be, and let our hearts be there also.'

There is one further view to be taken of this topic, and that is,

of the general tenor of our conversation. It is by this, more than by any thing else, that a man is reputed to be grave or gay, serious or light-minded. The thoughts that lie deep within us, are unseen, and can be known only by some mode of manifestation. Now business in all its forms is essentially and mainly serious ; it is bound down to this character of gravity by the very necessity of the case ; and it furnishes, therefore, no criterion of our disposition. Conversation only, and especially that of our unoccupied hours, is free. If then, it is chiefly employed upon light and trivial subjects, if its tone is habitually that of useless trifling, if its effort is always after jests and witticisms, the reputation of being thoughtless triflers will inevitably follow us. We may feel indeed, that the estimate does us injustice ; we may feel that we have our serious and solemn reflections, serious and solemn as those of other men who wear a grave countenance ; we may actually have them ; and this, indeed, is the very thing to be regretted and complained of, that while we have our religious thoughts and feelings, they should be so completely covered over by the flimsy and fantastic veil of perpetual and pertinacious levity. We speak strongly, it may be thought ; we speak, indeed, as if there were a degree of obstinacy in this diseased habit of trifling ; and it is true that the evil does sometimes go to this extent. The extreme buoyancy and the superabundant spirits of the young, do not unfrequently, for a while, when directed to no rational employment, assume this character of excessive and wasteful gayety. They can scarcely speak a word that must not be singular and droll ; they can scarcely dismiss their levity at church, or their folly from the school-room, whither they have been sent to learn wisdom. This is not to be spoken of with severity, perhaps, till it advances into the age of reflection ; but then, surely, it is a sad misdirection and a grievous fault. It is a fault, as every careful observer must have perceived, which is particularly adverse to all elevated and manly improvement. The very spirit of that improvement, the spirit that has wrought deeply and struggled hard in the bosom of genius and of all high endeavour, has always been eminently serious ; its chosen manifestations have not been the utterance of apt drolleries or ebullitions of senseless mirth ; but the throbbing pulse and the bursting tear have been witnesses of unutterable thoughts within. And if it is an injurious fault, it

is equally to be regarded as an unhappy misdirection of faculties that are destined to meet the great moral issue of a being such as ours. It is a sad thing to play the part of harlequin, in a drama, so serious as that which is passing on earth, and so momentous as that which is opening to the scenes of eternity.

We are not of those who would restrain any reasonable hilarity. We would not say any thing to check the natural buoyancy of humor, or the occasional sallies of wit. It is when it becomes the habitual and almost uninterrupted tenor of any one's conversation, that it is an unseemly and hurtful error. Nor should we hastily, in our own judgment, draw the usual inference from this habit, even when it goes thus far. We have often seen the deepest dejection, indeed, veiled over with artificial mirth, and still oftener have we seen a real gayety, which was only the alternation of the profoundest sadness. We have sometimes found too, that deep and even religious reflection was hidden beneath this trifling demeanor, — have found this to be the drapery, and not the man, that was thus exhibited to the world.

But where such is the true interpretation of this apparent anomaly in character, where acquired habit or natural impulse leads any really serious person to unusual gayety in conversation or demeanor, the obligation upon him, for a distinct avowal of his higher sentiments, is doubly urgent. He is bound to give the more explicit testimony to those sentiments, in proportion as they are the more liable to be misapprehended. He should take pains most distinctly to say, or to do that which is tantamount to saying, 'Though my temper leans to unusual buoyancy, and my spirits are naturally light and gay, yet let it not be supposed that I am indifferent to the great subject, in which every rational being should be interested. I may trifle, perhaps, more than I ought; it is difficult to draw the line, that separates indulgence from excess; it is possible to be too constantly serious for one's physical or mental health; but, God forbid that I should be at heart a trifler, or that any one should give me this unworthy name.' Indeed, it may be peculiarly incumbent on a person of this character to express his reverence for religion, by formal acts of public or domestic devotion; though we are aware that the common judgment would be otherwise. We know that a really serious and religious man sometimes says, 'My manners are not sufficiently governed and grave,

for me to profess religion'; but we cannot agree with him. We should say that it is particularly expedient for him to give a solemn and deliberate testimony of his reverence for it.

It is not of this, however, that we are now speaking, but of a testimony in words, in conversation, and, to a greater extent than many do, in the *tenor* of their conversation. Let them consider how great is the effect of an assumed character in this respect upon themselves and upon the manner in which others will treat them. An attempt to support the character of a wit or of a trifler, or of an eccentric person, will often come in the way both of a man's intellectual and religious improvement, — in the way of deep thought, and of all fervent, devotional affection. Others, too, by their almost unconscious expectations from him, by their constant treatment of him, will contribute to the same injurious result. Even good men, who are wont to hold solid and serious discourse with others, may never think of looking for any thing but amusement to him. Have we never seen one — capable, too, of sense and worth, gifted with powers that often showed themselves in the shrewd remark and the sharp answer, — have we never seen such an one made the laughing-stock of a village or neighbourhood, the butt of gibes and jests; — to whom, as he passed, the ball of folly was flung out from every corner to rebound from the skull that covered his idle brain; — one, in short, made a fool, by having been treated as a fool, and treated as a fool because, in some evil hour, he took upon himself the character of a fool! The instance is, indeed, an extreme one; but some approach to that injury may be experienced by every one who makes any approach to the reputation of an habitual trifler or jester.

We must not leave the subject without noticing, as we have promised, two or three objections which are usually made, not to one mode or another of avowal, but to avowal itself. These are probably, in most minds, the leading and principal objections.

One says, 'I have no religious experience to avow in any form, — neither in the communion, nor in domestic worship, nor in conversation.' Let the objection stop here, and let it be set down for a fair and honest statement, and we must allow that it removes the case from our present consideration. If a man has no religion, of course, we say, let him avow



none. We desire hypocrisy to bring no offerings. But is the objection a just and sincere one? Does it stop at the point stated? We are convinced that, in many cases, it is quite otherwise. A man says, 'I have no religious experience to avow'; but he does not mean what his words mean. He is not willing to deny himself the possession of every pure and holy sentiment. He is not willing to say that he is utterly alienated from God and from goodness; that he is one whom neither heaven nor hell moves from his stupidity; whom the thoughts, neither of flying time nor of boundless eternity, arouse to any emotions, either serious or sublime. No; but his objection proceeds to qualifications. 'He has no religion to avow'; and there he is willing that the matter should rest, so long as it will serve simply as an excuse. But do you take him at his word, and tell him that you are then to consider him as one whom no sacred or pious thoughts ever visit, or whom they visit only to be abhorred; and he will probably change his tone, and say, that 'he has his thoughts of religion and his feelings about it, as well as another.' Well; if he has religious thoughts and feelings, why shall he not avow them, avow so much as he has, and no more? Why not, at least, confess his deficiency, — a confession sometimes so made, made with such regret and pain, as to be one of the most interesting and promising of all avowals? But perhaps the objector means, not that he has no religion, but that he has not religion *enough* to make it proper for him to avow it. But is any such distinction fairly to be made? Is there any one point in religious experience where it is proper for avowal to begin? Is the day of small things to be despised? Must it not always come before the day of great things? But perhaps it is a real and amiable modesty that leads some to hesitate. There may be a hearty interest in religion, and an earnest desire to promote it, but the possessor of these feelings says, 'I am not the person to come forward with professions; I should be ashamed to say that I am good, or spiritually minded.' To such an one we have a single question to propose. Is modesty to stand in the place of all other virtues, and in the way of all other duties? Let it be ever so amiable and praiseworthy, but let it not be extravagant; let it not be held in exclusive respect as above all other claims. And if it were, yet what is this modesty after all? What is it but one of those virtues that fairly claim a frank and explicit acknowl-

edgment? Modesty, a humble sense of our deficiencies, is no disqualification from avowal, but a special reason for it.

But in the next place, some will say, 'We are afraid that we shall not keep our vows. If we were to establish a devotional service in our families, or were to attend the communion, and if we should talk of religion in a manner as if we were personally interested in it; and then, if after all this, we were to fall into those offences which we had professed our purpose to avoid, it were better that we had not professed.' We cannot admit this conclusion, and we fear that pride lies deeper in the objection, than humility does, notwithstanding its fair appearance. Why cannot a faithful and devoted man humbly and gratefully acknowledge the interest he takes in religion, with the full purpose, at the same time, that if he falls into sins inconsistent with that acknowledgment, he will yet more humbly confess them? Why shall he not be willing, through resolutions and confessions, through endeavours and humiliations, to work out his way to heaven? Why shall reproach be so dreaded a thing to a creature so frail and sinful, and who ought every day to reproach himself too deeply to be afraid of reproach from another?

Besides, avowal is one of the means which may have power to preserve him from falling into sin. Admit that it does not hold the highest place; yet if it has any power, is it for so weak a creature as man to dispense with it? There are moments of strong temptation, of blinding passion, when a man may forget, or lose sight of, his higher principles; and it is better that he should then remember his vows, and the stand he has taken before the world, than that he should remember nothing that will save him. Better surely than utter ruin is it, to be rescued by the fear of disgrace.

But in the last place, some will say, perhaps, that although the avowal proposed ought not to be precluded by modesty, or by the fear of falling into sin, yet that it would place them in an unfair position before society. 'The eye of the world will be upon us,' they may say, 'and it will mark our slightest faults as gross offences. It will note every deviation from the strictest decorum and sobriety, every compliance even with the decent fashions and amusements of society, nay, every instance of innocent hilarity, as a monstrous inconsistency with our profession.'

Admit that there is a degree of unreasonableness and su-

perstition in the world on this subject ; yet is it right to concede so much to unreasonableness and superstition as this objection proposes to do ? Is it right, out of deference to these mistakes of the world, to neglect an otherwise acknowledged and binding duty, which we owe to religion and to God ? Besides, if the judgment of the world is wrong in this matter, the proper course is, not submission to it, but an endeavour to correct it. And nothing would be so effectual for this purpose, as a course of earnest and unquestionable piety, connected with a reasonable enjoyment of the pleasures of this life. Yet more ; if there be unfairness and injustice in this opinion of the world, can we not estimate it for what it is worth ? Can we not show some independence in the noblest of all causes ? Can we not stand up firmly in the integrity of our own consciences ? Can we not bear this slight wrong in the discharge of our duty ? Can we not, I ask once more, — can we not take up thus far the cross of Christ, when we follow him ?

In short, we contend for manifestation in the concerns of religion, as a duty very important to ourselves, to society, to the great cause, whose progress is the paramount interest of the world. The best hopes of this life, the only hopes of a future life, are bound up in this cause ; and it ought to stand forth so prominently amidst our objects and pursuits, that none could mistake it, — that none could say of us, what is said of so many, that ‘ they know not what our feelings are on that subject, or whether we make it a subject of any thought or interest whatever.’ This interest, this thoughtfulness, this solemn regard for things divine and eternal, if it exist in us, be it remembered, is itself invisible. No man knoweth it, till it is manifested by us ; no human eye can pierce the depths of the soul where it first springs up ; and it demands, therefore, of the kindling eye and the speaking countenance, of the eloquent lips and the uplifted hands, and of the solemn vow sworn upon the altar, to give it expression. Religion should not wander through the world, unknown, unrecognised, hiding itself in corners, stealing through darkness and silence in its way to heaven. No ; but it should walk forth, with its own noble air and mien, in its own atmosphere of light ; coming to the light, so that its deeds shall be manifested that they are wrought in God. It is willing, and it ought, to be seen, and known, and read of all men ; to be an uttered speech and wisdom which none can gainsay ; to be a manifested aim and

purpose, which none can misunderstand ; to be a shining light and brightness, to which none can close their eyes.

Every thing else has manifestation among men ; yes, formal and express manifestation ; the spirit of gain, the spirit of ambition, the love of pleasure ; they all have their avowals, their pledges, their forms. Why shall not the spirit of religion, in like manner, show itself and bind itself with vows and testimonies ?

It hath more need than they ; for it is liable to be overborne and buried, in the mass of earthly interests and vanities that from every quarter press upon it. We confess that a survey of the state into which men are every where fallen, or are exposed to fall, that a more careful estimate of the moral condition of society around us, that more reflection upon the fearful temptations and dangers that beset it, that a more thorough conviction, we may say, of the evils that prevail in the world, have led us to think more than we have formerly done, of the importance of giving what virtue, what piety there is in society, all the manifestation, all the power of manifestation, of which it is capable. The prospects of society, if in some respects they seem to be more promising than formerly, in others, appear more perilous. It will not yet do, if it will ever do, in this world, for good men to take their simple, separate, silent way to the grave. It will not do to dismiss from our system of moral discipline any means, however humble, of promoting the virtue and purity of the world. The flood of worldly maxims and practices that is sweeping through the earth threatens such danger, that all possible landmarks and barriers should be lifted up to stay its course. Souls are struggling in that mighty deep of human passions ; and they should call to one another, and cheer one another in the perilous strife. They should, indeed, put forth their own strength, and pray to God for help ; but they should, also, lay a hand upon every support, upon every floating plank, that will help to buoy them up. The conflict is brief, as well as perilous ; all will soon be over ; and moral safety, therefore, should be the engrossing and manifest concern. The blessed haven, where are rest and safety, lies within reach ; but the dull tide will not float us thither, the strong arm of irregular and misdirected effort will not bear us to it, — nay, but we must plainly direct our course, and spread abroad our sail, and command and concentrate all power, action, mechanism, to the one



great purpose. Thus does it become Christian men to live in this world ; and thus doing, thus declaring their great aim, thus letting their light shine, may they hope to bear the greatest number of their fellow-beings with them to the heavenly land.

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ART. VI. — *Exposé Historique des Discussions élevées entre la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, et M. Gausсен, l'un de ses Membres ; &c.*

*Historical Account of the Discussions between the Company of the Pastors of Geneva, and M. Gausсен, one of its Members, on occasion of a Point of Ecclesiastical Discipline : Addressed by the Company to the Church of Geneva, and accompanied by Documents. Geneva. 1831. Svo. pp. 160.*

SUCH is the interest attached to the affairs of the church of Geneva, that nothing can take place there without attracting the attention of the Christian world. That little Protestant community, early celebrated for its zeal in the Reformation, and more recently for its faithful adherence to the great principles of that illustrious era, is watched by its Protestant sisters with a jealousy, which allows nothing that occurs within its borders to pass uncriticized. The world is made to ring with lamentations over her defection from the faith, and a busy zeal is engaged in aggravating the story of her heresies and casting odium on her name. So far is this ungenerous spirit carried, that even the misdeeds of other Swiss churches are attributed to her ; and so little do men care to discriminate, where they can blacken a body they dislike and add an emphasis to the hue and cry against Unitarianism, that they make her responsible for the imprisonments and banishments which have been perpetrated by the Orthodox cantons of Vaud and Berne. We are sorry to say, that this crying injustice is done, and unatoned for, by men from whom we should as little expect ignorance as wrong on such a subject ; though, at the same time, we must add, that it corresponds but too well to the reckless party spirit, with which the religious controversy of the times has been carried on. Geneva has been

guilty of no such flagrant wrong. She may have erred ; — most unfortunately she is an established, national church, and wields power, — she may possibly have used it injudiciously. But to banish and imprison belongs to her Orthodox neighbours, not to her ; and we do not understand how good men justify it to themselves to wantonly attribute to her what was done by others, or to aggravate with hasty zeal the errors of which she has been really guilty. We do not admire her government ; we are not apologists for her wrong. But where there is so much eagerness to defame her, we confess we feel disposed to step in and cry, *Audi alteram partem*. We are not willing that all the religious journals should circulate stories to her disadvantage, without one word uttered in her defence. The defendant always has a right to be heard before he is condemned, and we humbly submit, that the favored children of America ought to extend this common justice to one of the oldest and favorite daughters of the Reformation.

We have done something on former occasions to make known to our readers the character and history of this church.\* Since our last article, indeed within the last twelve months, circumstances have arisen, which were originally of little moment, except on the spot where they occurred, but which, from the use which has been made of them, have swollen into importance. The attention of the public was first attracted to them by an article in the 'Christian Observer,' for November, 1830, headed 'Religious Intolerance in Geneva,' which, copied into other journals, circulated through the Christian world, and within a few months was followed by two other articles. This is the language used in the first article, after a few preliminary remarks.

'We grieve to say, that the spirit of intolerance has again broken forth ; not in some remote rural district, but in Geneva itself ; not on the part of a few obscure bigots, but on the part of the venerable Company of Pastors ; and not directed against some rash and ignorant individual, whose conduct could be urged as a pretext for hostility, but against one of the most faithful, pious, humble, regular, and useful ministers which the modern church of Geneva can boast, —

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\* See The Christian Disciple, New Series, Vol. III. p. 214, and The Christian Examiner, Vol. IV. p. 37.

M. Gaussen, the well known and beloved pastor of Satigny. The dominant ecclesiastical party in Geneva have never forgiven M. Gaussen the offence of republishing, with Mr. Cellierier, the Helvetic confession, which they wish to be forgotten, as the monument of their heterodoxy and secession from the true principles of their church. But his exemplary conduct and his ecclesiastical regularity have hitherto prevented their finding occasion against him. \* \* \*

‘The circumstances to which we allude are the following. M. Gaussen lately received from the Company of Pastors an order to renew the use of its catechism in his schools; which he declined doing, as well he might, from the heterodox complexion of that document. The refusal was made a pretext for hostility; and it has even been seriously proposed to deprive him of his benefice. All moderate and well judging persons in Geneva have declaimed against such intolerance and persecution.’

This was written while the proceedings at Geneva were pending, and it is observable how readily—we do not say how charitably—the writer attributes them wholly to a revengeful spirit on the part of the majority of the clergy. Indeed the coloring of the whole, written while the inquiry was yet going on, shows too eager a desire to criminate. Nothing but this can account for the member of an established church so openly countenancing insubordination in such a case as this. What would he say to the doctrine as applied to an English clergyman, that he ‘did well’ to refuse teaching the church catechism, because he esteemed it heterodox? In another paper on the same subject, he bitterly censures the Genevan pastors for allowing M. Chenevière, ‘one of the most celebrated of the pastors and professors,’ to retain his benefice after publishing an essay on the trinity and calling it a most deplorable error; and asks, ‘How many months, or weeks, or days would a clergyman of the Church of England, or a professor in our universities, be permitted to retain his office after such a declaration?’ We really do not understand the consistency of this.

In his succeeding articles this writer gives a brief *ex parte* view of the affair, calling it a ‘persecution,’ likening M. Gaussen to the ‘martyrs,’ and, apparently on his authority, accusing the other pastors of what is ‘disingenuous,’ ‘dishonorable,’ and ‘insidious,’ and speaking of the church as

'corrupted.' Such is the impression which America as yet has received on this subject. We have been led to look at it a little more particularly, and propose to offer to our readers the result of our examination. And though they possibly may think that we are giving to it a greater space than a matter of this intrinsic magnitude deserves, we trust they will excuse us when they consider that it is simply an attempt to clear away an aspersion from the fair fame of one of the few liberal communities upon earth, whose slanderers are opening their mouths every where, and she is herself not present to refute them.

We happen to have access to all the official papers relating to this case, and it is from them that we make up our present account. They are contained in the pamphlet, whose title is at the head of this article, and which was published by the authority of the Company of Pastors at Geneva. They consist of the letters which passed between the Company and M. Gaussen, the letter of M. Gaussen to his parishioners and their reply, the votes of the Company, and a narrative of the case drawn up by a committee. So that we fortunately possess the statements and reasonings of both parties. A more fair publication in this, as well as other respects, it is not often our lot to meet with.

To come then to the history of the case. It is the rule of the Company of Pastors, to whom pertains the superintendence of the Genevan Church, to institute an inquiry every one or two years, into the pastoral conduct of the ministers of the church. In the regular course of this inquiry in September, 1830, it appeared that M. Gaussen, pastor of the parish of Satigny, had ceased, for the two preceding years, to teach the appointed catechism. On being called upon to explain this irregularity, he gave as his reason, that he esteemed the catechism faulty in point of doctrine, and faulty in method; that he considered it better to teach the Bible only, and accordingly had substituted a series of Scripture questions in place of the public catechism; and that he had done this without consulting the Company, because he had understood that it had been allowed to other ministers before him.

It was at once shown him that in regard to this last point he labored under a complete mistake; and a resolution passed, without a dissenting voice, though several of the members voting were Orthodox, that he must be required to re-



sume the catechetical instruction as existing in all the other parishes. At the same time he was invited to state his objections to the catechism to the committee entrusted with its revision, who would be glad of any suggestions which might aid them in rendering it more perfect.

Such were the proceedings of September 10th. Five weeks passed away, without its being known whether M. Gaussen intended to comply with the requisition of the Company. This interval was employed by him in preparing an elaborate statement and defence of his case, apparently for publication, though ostensibly a private letter to the Company. It was communicated by him in two parts, at the stated weekly sessions of that body on the 16th and 22d of October, and occupies forty-three pages of the volume before us. It is written with great plausibility and skill, in the tone of one who thinks himself wronged, and with an evident aim at popular effect. After stating, more particularly than he had done in presence of the Company, his actual method of religious instruction for the young, he repeats his objections to the catechism; that, in the first place, it omits the four doctrines of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the moral fall of man, the justification of sinners by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost; and that, secondly, it is abstract, dry, and above the comprehension of young people in the country. He then proceeds to observe, that the Company have required two things; first, that this catechism shall be used in the schools of his parish. To this he strongly objects, says it is virtually taking the Bible out of the hands of the pupils, and begs that the vote may be reconsidered. Further than this he does not feel himself bound to go. But in regard to the second point, that he shall himself use the catechism in his own private instruction to the children, his conscience does not allow him to consent, and he thinks that the pastors have gone beyond their jurisdiction in requiring it.

Having thus dismissed the subject in hand, and with very earnest professions of his love of peace and dislike of contention, he seizes the opportunity, not very consistently with these professions, of making an assault on the venerable Company; accusing it not only of maintaining false doctrines, but of having set at defiance the fundamental constitution of the state, usurped powers which did not belong to it, and by dishonest artifice, in an underhand way, made changes in the for-

mularies and ordinances of the church, contrary to the laws ; so that in fact it was guilty of the very irregularities it was charging on him, and that he himself had a better right to call them to account for deserting the order of the church, than they to charge it on him ; in a word, that he and his adherents constituted the real church of Geneva, and the majority were only usurpers and impostors. This is the substance of his long letter ; in which one is immediately struck with the inconsistency between its air of defiance and its reiterated professions of a desire of peace, grief at being compelled to say these things, and anxiety lest the subject should publicly transpire. We think no one can read it without an impression that it was designed for the public.

This letter was referred to a committee of five, who, on the 5th of November, made a report, which appears at length in the publication before us. This report enters into a full history of the catechism and of the changes which it has undergone, and shows that the accusations of unfairness and illegality which had been brought against the Company, are entirely without foundation. As this is the point of by far the greatest interest in the whole inquiry, our readers will be glad to see it stated at some length.

We must begin with the account of the matter by M. Gausen. For two hundred, or two hundred and fifty years, according to him, Calvin's catechism alone was taught in the schools. It was recited in them during the week, and explained in the churches on Sunday. More lately there were united with it the catechisms of Superville and Ostervald. The latter was introduced into all the schools between 1780 and 1788, and as new editions of it were printed from time to time, alterations were made in it, which in some measure changed its doctrinal complexion. It was succeeded at length by the catechism of Vernes, and this again by that of Martin, which was afterwards revised by four catechists. These alterations and changes, he argues, were illegal, because not made in conformity to the method prescribed by the Ordinances, which require the approbation of the Grand Council.

In reply to this, the report goes into a minute examination of the whole history. It seems that, by the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1576, it is required of those who enter the ministry of the national church, that 'they engage to hold the doctrine of the holy Prophets and Apostles, as it is con-

tained in the books of the Old and New Testaments, of which doctrine we have a summary in our catechism.' This was the catechism of Calvin, who had been dead twelve years. It is required also, that this catechism shall serve as the basis of instruction given from the pulpits of the Canton at certain appointed times, in exercises called the *public catechizing*. In 1725, when all formularies of faith were renounced by the venerable Company, the above cited article was retained, accompanied by the explanation, 'that in referring to the catechism, the engagement taken by the pastors is not to be understood as placing it on the same footing with the Scriptures, nor as implying an obligation to follow it throughout; but simply as an acknowledgment that it contains the substance and summary of the Christian doctrine.' Indeed, it is most obvious that the Ordinance implies no more than this. From this time till 1770, the subject seems not to have been agitated. In February of that year, a committee, appointed to consider of what improvements the public offices of the church were susceptible, made a report, from which it appeared, that at that time the ancient catechism had so far fallen into desuetude, as to be only used to mark the order of sections at the public catechizing, while parents and teachers in every other situation had adopted some other; and therefore, as well as on account of its obscurity and its being so much occupied with disputed points, the committee proposed that it should be formally abandoned, and another substituted in its place. This report was laid by for nine years; when the subject was again called up. The Company then desired to make the change which the committee had proposed; but as Calvin's catechism had received its authority from the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, and the Council was engaged in a revision of these Ordinances, the matter was deferred until that revision should be completed. The Council however did nothing about it, and the affair rested as it was eight years longer, till 1787. The inconvenience from the want of uniformity in the religious instruction of the church, occasioned by the variety of catechisms which had crept into use, had then become so great, that it could be borne no longer; and the Company appointed a committee to determine what should be done. This committee proposed to adopt for the lower classes the smaller catechism of Ostervald, and for the upper classes and the catechumens, Ostervald's catechism, with the

additions of M. de Roches ; while Calvin's, in a new arrangement of the sections, should still be used at the public catechizing. In the mean time, however, M. Martin, the public catechist at the Magdalen church, had devised a method of his own, and obtained leave to introduce it, and thus Calvin's work passed entirely out of use. The two catechisms recommended by the committee were adopted, and ordered to be put into the hands of the catechumens, the students of the college,\* and the children of the country. Here, however, the Council interposed ; and, having inquired into the doings of the Company, declared, that they had the greatest confidence in that body, but that as the edict of 1782 had made it their duty to inspect all works of this class, they could not allow the catechisms in question to be published without examination by their own officers. This examination having been made, the Council voted its approbation, and ' testified to the venerable Company its satisfaction and gratitude, for the zeal it had manifested in all that relates to public instruction.' From this time the new catechisms were adopted in all the religious instruction of the Canton, and the next year an abridgment was prepared for the use of the youngest children. It is only necessary to add, that in explaining to the Council the grounds of their proceeding, the Company of Pastors represented, that hitherto all the editions of the various catechisms in use had been prepared by the booksellers, and never by authority of the Company or any other body ; and that the consequent diversity of books and editions had occasioned great perplexity, and led all, most nearly concerned in the matter, to desire that some one might be set forth by authority.

From this statement it appears, that as long ago as 1725, Calvin's catechism had ceased to be regarded in the light of a confession of faith ; that in the course of years it gradually fell into disuse, other similar works of various authors being substituted by parents and teachers, till Calvin was used only at the public catechizing ; that the general dissatisfaction with this state of things induced the Company, after much deliberation and cautious delay (from 1770 to 1787), to substitute other catechisms ; and that to this substitution, the Council,

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\* In Geneva the College is the school for boys, and the Academy a college for young men.



to whom the right of decision in the case belonged, gave its hearty approbation. So far was the change from being made in the underhand way that M. Gaussen represents. So far too was it from being the act of the ministers only, that they did not move in it till compelled by public opinion, which had already wrought the change in fact, and the Council ratified and established their act. Neither did they consider their work perfect and unalterable. In 1809 a committee of revision was appointed, which, after eighty-five sittings, reported a corrected edition, specifying seven alterations of importance. This edition, with all its improvements, was readily received, and went into universal use without opposition, it is said, from any of the very various opinions which are represented in the Company. Indeed, the changes seem to have been principally designed to remove all expressions on disputed points, about which there would be disagreement, and to retain only those general forms of representing doctrinal truth, to which all can equally assent. Accordingly, M. Gaussen himself, for twelve years, found no difficulty in teaching this catechism; for, as he himself says, he was easily able to add, for the instruction of his children, those peculiar sentiments which the text-book did not express. The other Orthodox ministers did the same. Revised editions were again published in 1811, 1814, and 1817. Whether the last was expressly authorized by the Company and the Council, does not appear; nor whether the revision embraced any important changes. It has from that time continued in universal use, and its approbation by the Government was acknowledged, when, in 1823, it requested the Company to strike out the sections which relate to the Catholic controversy.

As to the allegation, that the Ordinances require the use of Calvin's catechism, it is replied, that they have become in almost every particular a dead letter; time and disuse have rendered them obsolete. When an edict was passed for their revision in 1791, it contained a provision, 'that until this revision should be completed, the Ordinances should continue to be observed and executed in all their extent, excepting always those particulars in regard to which contrary usages have been introduced, in which case these usages shall continue to be observed.' The same edict also forbids that any changes be made in the liturgy and catechisms, except in a certain way; thereby establishing the catechisms at that time in use,

namely, those of 1788. And if it should be thought to infringe the letter of the above edict, that the government gave only an *implied* assent to the later revisions, it yet is not inconsistent with its spirit; or if it were, still it would only restore to use the formularies of 1788, and by no means bring back, as M. Gaussen pretends, the ancient work of Calvin.

Having gone through with these historical notices, the report closes with urging, that this is a matter of discipline merely, in which it would not be becoming for the authority of the church to yield to the irregularity of one individual, and not at all a question of theological doctrine; in regard to which it proceeds to vindicate the impartiality and fairness of the Company.

The deliberations of the Company ended in an edict, confirming that of the tenth of September, requiring that the catechism shall be used in the school of the parish of Satigny and at the public catechizing, but allowing M. Gaussen to dispense with it in his private teaching. He was again requested to submit to consideration any suggestions for the improvement of the catechism, and for the better religious instruction of the young. He was further required to withdraw his letters.

M. Gaussen, on learning the tenor of this edict, immediately acknowledged that he had misunderstood the purport of that of the tenth of September, which had been couched in general terms; and finding that it was only designed to regulate the public instruction, and not to interfere with his own personal mode of teaching, he professed himself satisfied, and ready to continue his ministry as heretofore.

And here the whole matter might have rested in an amicable adjustment, had not a new bone of contention been thrown out in the unfortunate requisition that M. Gaussen should withdraw his letters. The Company thought its dignity concerned in insisting that its archives should not retain a document couched in language disrespectful to themselves, and calling in question their rights. M. Gaussen, on the other hand, thought that this step 'would infallibly be construed into a retraction of his principles and doctrines,' and therefore considered that it became his character to refuse to take back what he had written. The Company explained, that there was no desire or intention to make him disavow his principles; but he thought it would be so understood abroad.

Neither party would yield, and the breach became irreparable. And thus, after the real difficulty had been removed, a mere punctilio of form was permitted to destroy the prospect of accommodation and peace. The venerable Company could not stoop from its dignity so far as to send back the offensive document, and the conscientious pastor was too fearful of the construction which might be put on the act to take it back himself. The Company thought its authority, nay its very existence, jeopardized by the resistance of the minister; and the minister thought his character ruined if he should yield. They stood like two duelists, whom honor forces to fight, when one word would reconcile them.

Another difficulty arose at the same time. The Company, in order to avoid misconstruction, had thought it necessary to state, that, in the votes which it had passed on this occasion, 'it did not design to surrender its legal right of making regulations in future, especially that of introducing, if judged best, a uniform mode of conducting the public catechizing in the several churches.' M. Gaussen is greatly astonished and offended at this; he considers it as a proof that the Company are far from a conciliatory disposition, and in warm language complains of it.

In this state of things, the Company felt itself compelled to regard M. Gaussen as a refractory member, obstinately set in opposition to the legal authority of the church, and requiring to be treated accordingly. It proceeded therefore to an act of discipline; and after discussing the different measures, more or less severe, which were proposed by different individuals, adopted a resolution in the following form:

'The Venerable Company of the Pastors of Geneva, — considering that, on the 15th and 22d of October last, M. Gaussen addressed to this body letters, which for their manner and substance are censurable, though no reference is herein had to the religious doctrines stated in them; — considering that he has obstinately refused to observe that part of the edict of November 5th which requires him to withdraw his letters; — considering, moreover, that they had been preceded by an act contrary to ecclesiastical discipline in the introduction of unauthorized changes into the mode of religious instruction in the parish of Satigny; — ordains, 1. that M. Gaussen is censured; 2. that he is suspended for one year from the right of sitting in the Company except in cases where his presence

shall be especially required ; it being understood, that the Company retains its oversight over the religious affairs of the parish of Satigny.'

Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth ! It is truly said in the pamphlet before us, that this, in its commencement, was a very small affair ; and it would seem that it might have been very easily adjusted. But, unfortunately, there was wanting a perfect confidence between the two parties, and their mutual jealousy of each other's intentions tended to widen the breach which each at heart desired should be closed. M. Gaussen, knowing that for doctrinal reasons he had broken the rules of the church, suspected that it was doctrinal reasons only which induced the church authorities to deal with him. The Company, on the other hand, insisted that it was simply and purely a matter of discipline, and attempted by every possible means to clear themselves of all suspicion of acting from theological bias. And we do not see how, with any pretence of justice, it can be charged upon them. Look at the case. It is a Presbyterian church. There are certain laws and regulations to which its ministers are necessarily subject, and over the execution of them the Company of the Pastors is the constituted guardian. One of the members is guilty of a breach of rule. Does it not follow, as a matter of necessity, that he is called to account for it ? And because he happens to hold some doctrines opposed to those of the majority, is it therefore to be said that they are prompted, in calling him to account, by party bias, and that this is persecution ? Indeed it seems to us that such an accusation is singularly inconsiderate and unfair.

But it will be said, the regulation was an oppressive one, and M. Gaussen could not in conscience observe it. But, in the first place, he had observed it for twelve years, and, so far from finding it oppressive, had been able very easily to teach, under its cover, all the orthodoxy he desired, and no man had hindered him. In the next place, he was willing that the catechism should be taught in his parish, provided he was not compelled to teach it personally, — which was not demanded of him ; so that his whole complaint was after all ungrounded and gratuitous. Besides which, how is the regulation in any sense oppressive ? Only consider that it is a national and Presbyterian church, and you will not find in the compass of ecclesiastical history any thing of the sort so generous as this.



All such establishments have their formularies, which they compel their members to adopt and learn ; and thus all contain fixed articles of faith, from which no departure is allowed. Not so at Geneva. To its immortal honor be it said, it has set the example of a national, established, Presbyterian church, striking out from its catechism all enumeration of doctrines which could embarrass the faith, or offend the conscience, or check the free inquiry of any individual, and retaining only the broad and fundamental principles under which all may unite whatever the variety of their private opinions ; — and under which M. Gaussen himself, as well as others, had quietly taught Calvinism for many years. Now then where is the oppression ? Where is the infringement of conscience talked of ? And especially how does it become the ‘Christian Observer,’ advocating a Church Establishment which is far from granting this liberal allowance, to be foremost in casting a stone at its sister of Geneva ? No ; the fault for which the Genevan establishment is thus held up to the censure of the Christian world, is not that it makes oppressive requisitions of conscience, but that it does not make any ; not that it compels its members to adopt the faith of its own majority, but that it does not compel them to adopt the Orthodox faith ; — as M. Gaussen himself says more than once ; he acknowledges that he is allowed to teach what he thinks to be the true doctrine, but that does not satisfy him, for others are also allowed to teach what they hold to be true ; and he complains that there is not a catechism which would forbid them to do so. He would have them reinstate Calvin’s ; and if this were only done, and all the Pastors were obliged to teach, and all the children compelled learn, that ancient compendium, he and his English friends would be well satisfied. This is very like the complaint recently made in this neighbourhood, that the Theological professors of Harvard College were to offer daily prayers in the University chapel ; not because they would introduce any thing objectionable, but because they would ‘omit’ what is Orthodox.

We are no friends of an establishment, or of ecclesiastical tribunals. We wish that our brethren at Geneva were well rid of them. We look with admiration on what they have been able to do for religious liberty while so encumbered as they have been with their antiquated forms, and walking in fetters. But we wish they were thoroughly emancipated. It

is but too true, as M. Gaussen reminded them, that it is not in the nature of things to keep strictly to the forms of a Presbyterian government, its authority, its tribunals, and its censures, and yet allow entire liberty of thought. The independence of thought for which they have been for a century nobly striving, is consistent only with independence of churches; a truth so well understood in this country, that it has been a favorite object with those here who dread the former, to destroy the latter, and by new combinations essentially to change the character which our lauded fathers gave to their congregations. But surely it is not for such, or for any advocates of establishments and tribunals, to hold up to obloquy as guilty of intolerance and persecution, a body which has used its power with the moderation evinced in the affair we are considering. *We* may express dissatisfaction, for we disapprove the whole system of external compulsion and management which is inherent in a national establishment, and are persuaded that on the principles of Congregationalism or of Independency no such troubles could have arisen as have disturbed the peace of Geneva. But when the advocates of church governments condemn, let them, for consistency's sake, own that they have nothing to find fault with except the *doctrines* of those who hold the power, 'no fault, except as pertaining to the law of their God.' *We* may say that M. Gaussen ought to have been left to take his own way; and that it would have been better quietly to return the offensive epistle, than to risk another disobedience and a final rupture, by commanding the sensitive writer to withdraw it. But *they* can consistently hold no such language; and every one perceives, when they make such an outcry, that it is not from any objection they can reasonably make to this proceeding in itself, but simply because M. Gaussen is a Calvinist, and the Company of Pastors is liberal.

As for the manner in which these proceedings have been received in Geneva, they of course have created no small excitement, and have given rise to very different opinions according as individuals were disposed to favor the Company or the minister. The great majority of the people approved the doings of the Company, and there was a general feeling that its measures had been taken with exemplary moderation and leniency. There were advocates in the Company and in the community for much severer proceedings. The advocates of

M. Gaussen have, of course, erected him into a martyr, and have seized the occasion to excite to the utmost possible extent a feeling unfavorable to the Pastors, and to extend the influence of Orthodox sentiments. M. Gaussen has published a pamphlet in vindication of himself, and in further assault on the authority and character of the Pastors. He has also made himself active in the establishment of 'the Evangelical Society of Geneva,' the object of which seems to be, by every active means, to revolutionize religious opinion in that city, and restore the fallen empire of Calvinism. In order to this, they do not withdraw from the national church, for doing which M. Malan has been blamed as guilty of a piece of ill policy; but, maintaining, with M. Gaussen, that the present Company is exercising an illegal and usurped authority, and that the true power can belong only to those who abide by the ancient ordinances and the catechism of Calvin, they propose to erect a new church in the bosom of the old, and when in time it shall have become sufficiently strong, eject the present holders of power, and raise up again all the fallen honors of the ancient *régime*.

These occurrences must have naturally had the effect to draw unwonted attention to the doctrines which in fact lie at the bottom of the dispute. It is well known to have been the liberal policy of this church, to discourage, as much as possible, all polemic controversy, and to confine the attention of the religious community to the great and undisputed points of divine revelation. Hence doctrinal discussion has hardly occurred in the city; and the peculiarities of different sects are almost unknown. Probably very little interest has been felt in them. It would seem probable, however, that this state of things can no longer continue. The long peace must be broken and contention must follow. Those who have heretofore been discontented with the prevailing quietness, and who have thought that duty to truth demanded the agitation of doctrinal questions, will now have an opportunity to speak. Of these, is Chenevière, the learned professor and eloquent preacher, who has been preparing a series of Essays on the doctrines of the gospel. Their publication at this moment is particularly opportune, and will draw to them an attention greater than under other circumstances they would probably have received. The first two of these, on the Trinity and on Original Sin, are now lying on our table, and may

call for a particular notice at some future time. Other writers are also understood to have appeared; and it has been proposed to establish a theological journal, which should be suited to the emergencies of the day. What will be the effect of this agitation it is not easy precisely to foretell. That it will in many respects be unhappy, exciting bad passions, producing alienations, and giving opportunities for that unfairness, abusiveness, and slander, to which Geneva has been hitherto a stranger, but which grow up like weeds in the rank soil of theological warfare, there can be no doubt. But it is the province of Him who is over all to bring good out of evil; and we have a devout trust that, when the rain shall have descended, and the floods come, and the winds blown, and beat upon that house, it will be found to stand firm and immovable, — founded on that Rock against which the gates of hell and the perverseness of man never shall prevail. Meantime, may the friends of truth and liberty feel their responsibility and duty; and while they contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, earnestly, strenuously, perseveringly, may they do it in meekness and forbearance; showing by their temper and decency that they have learned of Jesus, and have felt the holy power of the truth which they advocate.

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ART. VII. — *Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem in 1692.* By CHARLES W. UPHAM, Junior Pastor of the First Church in Salem. Boston. Carter, Hendee, & Babcock. 18mo. pp. 280.

WE are indebted to Mr. Upham, in these Lectures, for the clearest, most impartial, and satisfactory account of this memorable delusion, which as yet, we believe, has been given to the public. They were first delivered in substance before the Salem Lyceum, and afterwards repeated to some similar institutions in the vicinity. They will be numbered with the most valuable productions, which these excellent associations have called forth. The origin of this infatuation, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of man; its wide extent and antiquity, not limited, as some may have imagined, to Salem,



to New-England, or to the age in which in this country it chiefly appeared, but pervading various countries, at different periods, both in the ancient and modern world ; affecting not the illiterate and the vulgar only, usually most susceptible to the marvellous, but some of the wisest and best of the land ; the tremendous consequences it produced upon the reputation, fortunes, domestic and social comfort of multitudes, and the sacrifice of life to not a few, are all described, though briefly, yet accurately and impartially. 'It has been my object,' says the writer, 'to present only those facts, which are necessary to give a correct and adequate view of the transaction. And it has been my determination to set down nought in malice and to keep back nothing from partiality.' We count it no small part of the value of these Lectures, that this object has been faithfully kept in view ; so that the curious or the youthful inquirer, who has yet to learn the history of the Salem Witchcraft, may find it here exhibited, not with the loathsome and revolting details, which have found a place in the 'Magnalia' and some of the earlier records, but with historic truth, and especially with a just, philosophical, and charitable estimate of the various causes to which it may be ascribed ; the consideration of which, embracing, as in the second Lecture, the existence and influence of the same delusion from the beginning of the Christian era to the period in question, is essential to every one, who would avoid the injustice of a blind and indiscriminate condemnation of our fathers.

The causes, which produced and favored this delusion, are traced in general to the desponding state of the affairs of New England at the time of its commencement in 1692, and to the influence of certain theological sentiments, which pervaded the people. Of the former, the author particularly mentions the depression of commerce, the depredations of privateers upon the coast ; the exposure of the colony to the cruel hostility of the Indians ; the severe burden of taxes pressing upon the whole community, far exceeding in their proportion the burdens of the present day, and producing political jealousies and discontents ; and, finally, the loss by death and other causes of many of the leading citizens, especially of the 'patriarchs of Salem,' to whom the inhabitants had long been accustomed to look for wisdom and a salutary influence. While, of the latter causes, a sober and general belief,

that 'the evil being himself was in a special manner let loose, and permitted to descend upon them with unexampled fury,' was sufficient, independently of every external cause, to dispose men to the miserable superstitions and barbarities, that followed.

We must refer our readers to Mr. Upham's own pages for the narrative of this disgraceful, or rather let us say, this melancholy history. And even within the small compass of his book, we find ourselves anticipated in most of the reflexions, to which it might naturally give occasion. Notwithstanding, however, the multitude of absurd stories, that have been told of Witchcraft, and the familiar use of the terms employed in them, it is more than possible that some of our readers may be at a loss as to what is really intended by a *Witch*; nothing being more common than the use of words without any distinct idea attached to them. Mr. Upham, therefore, before entering upon the history, very properly explains what is meant, when it was said that people were *bewitched*.

'There are several words and expressions, that are sometimes used synonymously with *witch*, although they are not strictly synonymous. The following for instance, — *diviner, enchanter, charmer, conjurer, necromancer, fortune-teller, augur, sooth-sayer, and sorcerer*. None of these words conveys the same idea our ancestors attached to the word *witch*. *Witch* was sometimes specially used to signify a female, while *wizard* was exclusively applied to a male. The distinction was not often, however, attempted to be made, — the former title was prevailingly applied to either sex. A witch was regarded by our fathers, as a person who had made an actual, deliberate, and formal compact with Satan, by which compact it was agreed that she should become his faithful subject, and do what she could in promoting his cause, and, in consideration of this allegiance and service, he on his part agreed to exercise his supernatural powers in her favor, and communicate to her a portion of those powers. Thus a witch was considered in the light of a person who had transferred allegiance and worship from God to the Devil.

'The existence of this compact was supposed to confer great additional power on the Devil as well as on his new subject; for the doctrine seems to have prevailed, that for him to act with effect upon men, the intervention and instrumentality of human coöperation was necessary, and almost unlimited power was ascribed to the combined exertions of Satan, and those of the human species in league with him. A witch was believed to

have the power, through her compact with the Devil, of afflicting, distressing, and rending whomever she would. She could cause them to pine away and to suffer almost every description of pain and distress. She was also believed to possess the faculty of being present in her shape or apparition at a different place from that which her actual body occupied. Indeed, an almost indefinite amount of supernatural ability, and a great freedom and variety of methods for its exercise, were supposed to result from the diabolical compact. 'Those upon whom she exercised her malignant and mysterious energies, were said to be bewitched.' — pp. 17–19.

Now with this view of the nature of Witchcraft, implying, as will be seen, in its very foundation the existence and influence of a malignant rival being, acting independently and at pleasure upon the minds of men, and gaining for himself an allegiance and service, which sober views of religion teach us can be rendered only to God, — it must be regarded as the most astonishing circumstance attending the delusion, that it was not confined, as most superstitions are, to the weak and ignorant, but was entertained and defended by some of the purest and most gifted spirits of the age; by men, from whom might be expected philosophic views upon every subject, and upon whom a community justly relies for sober and enlightened decisions. Civilians and magistrates, judges on the bench, and the executive officers of the law; physicians in the exercise of their profession, and especially ministers, some of whom were of the highest reputation, were the dupes of this wretched infatuation. 'It was advocated,' says Mr. Upham, 'by the learning and philosophy, the science and prudence of the times.' 'It pervaded the whole civilized world and every profession and department of society.' And when we recollect, that it received the sanction of such as Sir Edward Coke and Sir Matthew Hale; of Lord Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, and Sir William Blackstone; of Baxter, Calamy, and Dr. Henry More; that it was considered as worthy of the study of the most cultivated and liberal minds to discover and distinguish 'a true witch by proper trial and symptoms,' we ought not to be surprised, that it should obtain among our fathers. Or if, with our knowledge of the general good sense and moral excellence by which they were distinguished, we cannot escape astonishment, that so many were deluded, the remark of Dr. Bentley, quoted with approbation by

Mr. Upham, will appear no less charitable than just, that there is reason to believe, that 'all honorable men and good citizens would prefer to be considered as participating in the excitement, than as having been free from it and opposed to it, without ever daring to resist or check or reduce it.'

But though this palliation be admitted to a certain extent, it can by no means be regarded as a general and full justification. For the most revolting features in the whole history of this delusion are the fiend-like malignity and cruelty, which it seemed every where to have engendered; and which can scarcely be explained but by supposing there was a sincere, hearty conviction of the reality of the mischief. The connexion between superstition and cruelty has been often remarked. It has been traced in all forms of religion, under every system, Pagan or Christian, and never was it more clearly exhibited than at this very period. Men seemed to have lost their natures in prosecuting this war with the Devil; and to have thought it essential to the successful issue of the contest to assimilate themselves as far as possible to the enemy, with whom they were contending. Hence the readiness with which they could accuse, and the malice with which they pursued to imprisonment, torture, and death, some of the purest and most excellent of the land. They had no respect for childhood or old age; no pity for female weakness; no remembrance of a blameless and benevolent life to deter them; but appeared to act towards every accused person, as if they were engaged in a personal contest with Satan himself. All this was mingled, it is true, with a sincere zeal for religion, and indignation at the audacious attempts of the enemy of souls to overthrow the churches of Christ and to lead away captive his disciples. But, as Mr. Upham remarks,

'In baleful combination with principles, good in themselves, thus urging the passions into wild operation, there were all the wicked and violent affections to which humanity is liable. Theological bitterness, personal animosities, local controversies, private feuds, long cherished grudges, and professional jealousies, rushed forward, and raised their discordant voices, to swell the horrible din; credulity rose with its monstrous and ever expanding form, on the ruins of truth, reason, and the senses; malignity and cruelty rode triumphant through the storm, by whose fury every mild and gentle sentiment had been shipwrecked.' — p. 116.

In this cruelty and fanaticism it cannot be denied, that the



clergy took a prominent part. They seemed to think, that the cause was peculiarly theirs ; and that their profession called them to put on the armour against the prince of darkness. 'They took the lead,' says Mr. Upham, 'in the whole transaction. After the execution of the first person convicted and previous to the trial of the others, the government consulted the ministers of Boston and the vicinity, and they returned a positive and earnest recommendation to proceed in the good work.' This recommendation, as it afterwards appeared, was drawn up by Cotton Mather, who frequently took occasion to commend it, and in one of his subsequent writings even speaks of 'the gracious words' it contains. But it expressed the sentiments also of most of his brethren ; and the writer particularly adduces the Rev. Mr. Noyes, one of his predecessors in the First Church in Salem, justly celebrated in his life as among the most eminent ministers of the land, and honored at his death as 'a part of the glory of New England,' yet in his conduct in this affair affording a melancholy proof, 'that there is power in a popular delusion and a general excitement of the passions of the community to pervert the best of characters, turn the hearts even of good men to violence, and fill them with all manner of bitterness.'

This was deplorably true in relation to Dr. Cotton Mather, with less, we fear, to extenuate his error or to reconcile us to the course which he afterwards pursued. His name certainly appears in this, as in Calef's and some other histories of the day, under very doubtful aspects. After the delusion had past, and the fatal error was perceived, there was an earnest desire in Mr. Noyes and in almost every one else, to do all that was possible to repair it. We shall presently advert to some affecting examples of this nature. We wish we could discover the least evidence of the same generosity in Mather. We wish it, because we take no pleasure in calling up the frailties of a man, who has some unquestionable claims to respect, and whose learning and zeal to do good, however strangely mingled with his foibles, gave him eminence among the clergy of his times. And there are those, we doubt not, who would be ready, even at this day, to assent to the following very charitable view of him, given by the writer of these Lectures a few years since, in a sermon at the dedication of the First Church in Salem.\*

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\* See note to this discourse, preached Nov. 16, 1826.

‘Whatever may have been his imperfections or faults, I cannot refrain,’ says Mr. Upham, ‘from giving my feeble testimony to the learning and liberality of Cotton Mather. It may be, that his character as a historian receives at present a treatment altogether too harsh. It should be estimated with a constant reference to the age in which he lived. His extraordinary and admirable scholarship is frequently called pedantry. It is a pedantry beyond the reach of any one, whose mind has not been thoroughly imbued with the spirit and stored with the learning, which reside in the works of those great masters of the human intellect, who lived and wrote before Cotton Mather’s day; a pedantry, highly honorable to the venerable University, which numbers him among her sons; a pedantry, which any Christian scholar might well strive to imitate.’

In this opinion of the Doctor’s learning we can by no means concur; nor do we believe that the writer himself would now strenuously insist upon it. We refer to it however as an evidence, that it was with no prejudices against him, but rather with some excess of partiality in his favor, that Mr. Upham came to the investigation of the part which Mather bore in the delusions of the day. That it was in truth with reluctance, and only from the irresistible weight of evidence, that he was brought to different views of his character. We shall here adduce from the Lectures what relates immediately to Cotton Mather, and shall then enable our readers to judge for themselves, how far it is sustained by certain passages, we shall extract from the Doctor’s private journal.

‘In the year 1692, special efforts were made to renew the power of the spirit of the gospel in many of the churches. The motives of those who acted in these measures were for the most part of the purest and holiest character. But there were not wanting individuals who were willing to abuse the opportunities offered by the general excitement and awakening thus produced. It was soon discerned by those ambitious of spiritual influence and domination, that their object could be most easily achieved by carrying the people to the greatest extreme of credulity, fanaticism, and superstition.

‘Opposition to prevailing vices, and attempts to reform society, were considered at that time in the light of a conflict with Satan himself, and he was thought to be the ablest minister, who had the greatest power over the great enemy, who could most easily and effectually avert his blows and counteract his baleful influence. Dr. Cotton Mather aspired to be considered the

great champion of the church, and the most successful combatant against "the prince of the power of the air." He seems to have longed for an opportunity to signalize himself in this particular kind of warfare; seized upon every occurrence that would admit of such a coloring to represent it as the result of diabolical agency; circulated in his numerous publications as many tales of witchcraft as he could collect throughout New and Old England, and repeatedly endeavoured to get up a delusion of this kind in Boston. He succeeded to some extent. An instance of witchcraft was brought about in that place by his management in 1688. There is some ground for suspicion that he was instrumental in causing the delusion in Salem; at any rate he took a leading part in conducting it. And while there is evidence that he endeavoured, after the delusion subsided, to escape the disgrace of having approved of the proceedings, and pretended to have been in some measure opposed to them, it can be too clearly shown that he was secretly and cunningly endeavouring to renew them during the next year in his own parish in Boston. I know nothing more artful and Jesuitical than his attempts to avoid the reproach of having been active in carrying on the delusion in Salem, and elsewhere, and, at the same time, to keep up such a degree of credulity and superstition in the minds of the people, as to render it easy to plunge them into it again at the first favorable moment. In the following passages he endeavours to escape the odium that had been connected with the prosecutions.

"The world knows how many pages I have composed and published, and particular gentlemen in the government know how many letters I have written to prevent the excessive credit of spectral accusations.

"In short, I do humbly but freely affirm it, that there is not a man living in this world who has been more desirous than the poor man I, to shelter my neighbours from the inconveniences of spectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done so much that way, as to sin in what I have done; such have been the cowardice and fearfulness, whereunto my regard unto the dissatisfaction of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict some such witches as ought to die; but his respect unto the public peace has caused him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance." — pp. 105–109.

And again, after citing some sentences from Mather's published works, in which he endeavours to take the credit to himself of having doubted the propriety of the proceedings, and yet to commend himself to all who approved of them, 'like

an ambitious politician, anxious to have the support of all parties at the same time,' — Mr. Upham remarks ;

'From this latter passage it is clear that Dr. Mather contemplated the witchcraft delusion as having been the instrument in promoting a revival of religion, and was inclined to boast of the success with which it had been attended as such.

'I cannot, indeed, resist the conviction, that, notwithstanding all his attempts to appear dissatisfied, after they had become unpopular, with the occurrences in the Salem trials, he looked upon them with secret pleasure, and would have been glad to have had them repeated again in Boston.

'How blind is man to the future ! The state of things which Cotton Mather labored to bring about, in order that he might increase his own influence over an infatuated people, by being regarded by them as mighty to cast out and vanquish evil spirits, and as able to hold Satan himself in chains by his prayers and his piety, brought him at length into such disgrace, that his power was broken down, and he became the object of public ridicule and open insult.' — pp. 113, 114.

Now to those of the present generation, who have heard of Cotton Mather only as a learned and reverend divine, the author of innumerable works, and a shining light of New England, it would be difficult to believe, that, for any cause or at any time, he was the object to his cotemporaries of open ridicule or dislike. And were it a question merely of his personal merits, unconnected with the history of the times, we should be in no wise solicitous to show it. But from his private journal, to which we have adverted, we must infer either that this was indeed the fact, and that he was well aware of the disesteem he had incurred, or else that a suspicious spirit, quickened by some inward consciousness of wrong, but strangely combined with the vanity that was also among his infirmities, led him to see things very differently from what they were. We may premise, that this private journal, for the use of which we are indebted to the courtesy of the gentleman in whose possession it is, has hitherto existed only in manuscript, and being wholly unknown to the author of these Lectures at the time of their publication, must be considered as an additional testimony, and independent of that on which he grounded his conclusions.

These passages, the reader will observe, are extracted from the manuscript diary of Dr. Mather, for the year 1724 ; at which period he was sixty-two years of age. They are thus prefaced :



‘Dark dispensations, but light arising in darkness.’

‘It may be of some use to me to observe some very dark dispensations, wherein the recompense of my poor essays at well-doing in this life seem to look a little discouraging; and then to express the triumph of my faith over such and all discouragements.’

‘Of the things that look dark, I may touch of *twice seven* instances.’

A part of these, on account of their too personal or domestic nature, we omit.

‘1. What has a gracious Lord helped me to do for the *seafaring tribe*, in prayers for them, in sermons to them, in books bestowed upon them, and in various projections and endeavours to render the sailors a happy generation? And yet, there is not a man in the world, so reviled, so slandered, so cursed among sailors.

‘2. What has a gracious Lord helped me to do for the instruction and salvation and comfort of the poor Negroes? And yet, some on purpose to affront me call their Negroes by the name of COTTON MATHER, that so they may, with some shadow of truth, assert crimes as committed by one of that name, which the hearers take to be *Me*.

‘3. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the profit and honor of the Female Sex? especially in publishing the virtuous and laudable characters of holy women. And yet, where is the man, whom the Female Sex have spit more of their venom at? I have cause to question, whether there are twice ten in the town, but what have at some time or other, spoken *basely* of me.

‘4. What has a gracious Lord given me to do, that I may be a blessing to my relatives? I keep a catalogue of them, and not a week passes me without some good devised for some or other of them, till I have taken all of them under my cognizance. And yet, where is the man, who has been so tormented with such *monstrous* relatives? Job said, “*I am a brother to dragons.*”

‘5. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the vindication and reputation of the Scottish nation? And yet, no Englishman has been so vilified by the tongues and pens of Scotts as I have been.

‘6. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the good of the country? in applications without number for it in all its interests, besides publications of things useful to it and for it. And yet, there is no man whom the country so loads with dis-

respect, and calumnies, and manifold expressions of aversion.

'7. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the upholding of the Government and the strengthening of it, and the bespeaking of regards unto it? And yet, the discountenance I have almost perpetually received from the government! Yea, the indecencies and indignities, which it has multiplied upon me, are such as no other man has been treated with.

'8. What has a gracious Lord given me to do, that the COLLEGE may be owned for the bringing forth such as are somewhat known in the world, and have read and wrote as much as many have done in other places? And yet, the college for ever puts all possible marks of disesteem upon me. If I were the greatest blockhead that ever came from it, or the greatest blemish that ever came to it, they could not easily show me more contempt than they do.

'9. What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the study of a *profitable conversation*? For nearly fifty years together, I have hardly ever gone into any company, or had any coming to me, without some explicit contrivance to speak something or other, that they might be the wiser or the better for. And yet, my company is as little sought for, and there is as little resort unto it, as any minister that I am acquainted with.

'10. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in *good offices*, wherever I could find opportunities for the doing of them? I for ever entertain them with alacrity. I have offered pecuniary recompenses to such as would advise me of them. And yet, I see no man for whom all are so loth to do good offices. Indeed I find some cordial friends, *but how few!* Often have I said, What would I give if there were any one man in the world to do for me what I am willing to do for every man in the world!

'11. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in the writing of many books for the advancing of piety and the promoting of his kingdom! There are, I suppose, more than 300 of them. And yet, I have had more books written against me; more pamphlets to traduce and reproach me, and bely me, than any man I know in the world.

'12. What has a gracious Lord given me to do in a variety of *services*? For many lustres of years not a day has passed me, without some devices, even written devices, to be serviceable. And yet, my sufferings! They seem to be (as in reason they should be) more than my services. Every body points at me, and speak of me as by far the most afflicted minister in all New England. And many look on me as the greatest sinner, because the greatest sufferer; and are pretty arbitrary in their conjectures upon my punished miscarriages.'

In addition to this, and easily connected with other traits of character already developed, we may observe the Doctor's chagrin and mortified ambition in the manner in which he notes in his diary the death of President Leverett, and his own expectations, so bitterly disappointed, of being chosen his successor.

Our readers need not be informed, that Judge Leverett was one of the most able and acceptable Presidents, that Harvard College ever possessed. 'He maintained all his posts,' say Eliot in his Biography, 'with dignity, integrity, and the applause of the people.' Yet Mather thus writes;

'*Diary, May 7, 1724.* — The sudden death of the unhappy man, who sustained the place of President in our college, will open a door for my doing singular services in the best of interests. I do not know, that the care of the College will now be cast upon me; though I am told that it is what is most generally wished for. If it should be, I shall be in abundance of distress about it; but if it should not, yet I may do many things for the good of the college more quietly and more hopefully than formerly.

'*June 5.* The college is in great hazard of dissipation and grievous destruction and confusion. My advice to some that have some influence on the public, may be seasonable.

'*July 1, 1724.* This day being our *insipid, ill-contrived anniversary*, which we call the *commencement*, I chose to spend it at home in supplications, partly on the behalf of the College, that it may not be foolishly thrown away, but that God may bestow such a President upon it as may prove a rich blessing unto it and unto all our churches.'

Now, from this strange document, two things may be inferred. Either Dr. Mather had real cause for his griefs, and notwithstanding all the virtues and services he so vainly estimates, — an estimate probably much beyond the impartial judgment of others, — he was, in fact, as we are told, 'the object of ridicule and insult.' Or else, we repeat, we have before us in his own diary, an example of a miserable vanity coupled with jealousy, thinking most extravagantly of self, and not less mean and unreasonable in distrusting others. In the former case, we are left to wonder at the self-deception which prevented his seeing, in the odium to which his conduct had subjected him, only a just retribution and a call to humiliation; and in the other, supposing his disgrace to have been

merely imaginary, the creation of his own jealousy, here is a melancholy instance, not however uncommon, of a man in the actual possession of a good reputation, and on the whole not without his claims to enjoy it, rendering himself wretched by the diseased workings of his pride and suspicion.

We believe, that of these alternatives the former is to be taken; and that this journal is a satisfactory evidence, that the artful, ambitious course pursued by Dr. Mather was understood by the public, and had actually brought upon him the odium he deserved, precisely as Mr. Upham has described. But even all this might have been overcome and forgotten, had he not afterwards persisted in his selfish, crooked policy; or had he discovered, as did others, any sincerity of sorrow for the evils, to which his influence had so essentially contributed.

We turn with eagerness from this unpleasant topic to another, far more satisfactory, and which is in truth almost the only point in this sad history, on which it is not painful to dwell. We have already adverted to the deep regrets and anxious desires to repair, as far as possible, the wrongs which were generally felt to have been done, after the delusion had passed away. It was indeed a fearful retrospection. Irreparable mischiefs had been committed. Innocent lives had been sacrificed; the fairest reputations had been assailed; and, in multiplied instances, there had been a total wreck of domestic and social peace. The remembrance was hardly less dreadful than the calamity itself. For, in the words of the poet,

‘When passion’s gone, and reason’s on her throne,  
Amazed we see the mischief we have done.  
So, when the storm is o’er, and winds are laid,  
The calm sea wonders at the wreck it made.’

But ‘human virtue,’ as our author finely expresses it, ‘never shines with more lustre, than when it rises amidst the imperfections, or from the ruins of our nature, arrays itself in the robes of penitence, and goes forth with earnest and humble sincerity to the work of reformation and restitution. Such virtue did our pious ancestors exhibit, when the spell that had bound and perverted them was broken.’ And as our Saviour promised concerning his affectionate disciple, it shall be told for a memorial of this people, ‘that they did what they could.’

‘It seems,’ says Mr. Upham, ‘that the community could not recover from a sense of the injury it had inflicted upon



the innocent.' He mentions a resolution unanimously adopted by the General Court, nearly fifty years afterwards, for the appointment of a committee to make inquiry into the condition and circumstances of individuals and families, that might have suffered from the 'calamity of 1692'; and that there was a strong desire expressed to compensate them, either by money or by a township of land. He speaks of the inhabitants of Salem as doing the utmost in their power in the way of reparation; and borrows from Dr. Bentley the following touching account of the penitent and generous conduct exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Noyes, who had been active beyond most others in the work of destruction.

'Mr. Noyes came out and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance; never excused himself; visited, loved, blessed the survivors, whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of his life to bless mankind.'

It is unusual to find bodies of men uniting, in their official capacity, in an act of special penitence. Yet this was done in the most humble manner by the Twelve Jurors, upon whose verdict many of the unhappy victims had been condemned. In a declaration signed with the names of all of them, they exhibit the utmost tenderness of conscience, and ask forgiveness of God and men in terms of humility, that might disarm the anger of a demon.

'We hereby signify to all in general (and to the surviving sufferers in special) our deep sense of, and sorrow for, our errors, in acting on such evidence to the condemning of any person; and do hereby declare, that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken; for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God, for Christ's sake, for this our error; and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves, nor others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly, and aright by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly-unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that nature.

'We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended; and do declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again, on such grounds, for the whole world.' — p. 128.

And though we have dwelt so long upon this subject, loving to linger on this only fair spot in a region of desolation, we

cannot refrain from quoting the eloquent and beautiful tribute, which Mr. Upham pays to Judge Sewall in the conclusion of the first Lecture, both as an exhibition of moral grandeur, and of the power of real goodness to overcome the evils of a temporary delusion.

‘The conduct of Judge Sewall claims our particular admiration. He observed annually in private a day of humiliation and prayer, during the remainder of his life, to keep fresh in his mind a sense of repentance and sorrow for the part he bore in the trials. On the day of the general fast, he rose in the place where he was accustomed to worship, the Old South in Boston, and, in the presence of the great assembly, handed up to the pulpit a written confession, acknowledging the error into which he had been led, praying for the forgiveness of God and his people, and concluding with a request to all the congregation to unite with him in devout supplication, that it might not bring down the displeasure of the Most High upon his country, his family, or himself. He remained standing during the public reading of the paper.’ \* \* \*

‘There never was a more striking and complete fulfilment of the Apostolic assurance, that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, than in this instance. God has been pleased in a remarkable manner to save and bless New England. The favor of heaven was bestowed upon Judge Sewall during the remainder of his life. He presided for many years on the very bench where he committed the error so sincerely deplored by him, and was regarded by all as a benefactor, an ornament, and a blessing to his generation. While his family have enjoyed to a high degree the protection of Providence from that day to this, they have adorned every profession, and every department of society; they have occupied the most elevated stations, have graced in successive generations the same lofty seat their ancestor occupied, have been the objects of the confidence, respect, and love of their fellow citizens, and in this vicinity, their name is associated with all that is excellent in the memory of the past, and the observation of the present.

‘Your thoughts, my friends, have been led in the course of this lecture, through scenes of the most distressing and revolting character. I leave before your imaginations one that is bright with all the beauty of Christian virtue. In the picture that exhibits Judge Sewall standing forth in the house of his God and in the presence of his fellow-worshippers, making a public declaration of his sorrow and regret for the mistaken judgment he had coöperated with others in pronouncing, and

praying that it might be forgiven, — that it might not be followed by evil consequences to himself, his family, or his country; in this picture you have a representation of a truly great and magnanimous spirit, a spirit to which the divine influence of our religion had given an expansion and a lustre, that Roman or Grecian virtue never knew; a spirit that had achieved a greater victory than warrior ever won, a victory over itself; a spirit so noble and so pure that it felt no shame in acknowledging an error, and no humiliation in atoning for an injury. If the contemplation of this bright example shall have imparted a glow of emulation to your hearts, your patience in listening, I am sure, will not go unrewarded.' — pp. 129 – 132.

In taking a survey of this dark period in the history of our land, it seems but reasonable, so far at least as relates to the delusion itself, to number it with those 'times of ignorance,' which as in compassion for Pagan darkness, the Apostle tells us, 'God winked at.' And considering the bitter contrition, that followed, in which the judges and the accusers, the magistrates and the clergy alike partook, we may believe what is recorded of the penitent Israelites after a season of general reformation, that 'their cry went up to the holy place, and the Lord hearkened and healed the people.' But our wonder at the extent of this delusion of our ancestors will be greatly diminished, when we remember, — what indeed must never be overlooked in any impartial view of these times, — that it was a delusion they shared with all ages and all nations, not only before but after them. And here, did our limits permit, we should gladly follow Mr. Upham in the interesting and instructive view of this subject, which chiefly occupies his Second Lecture. The reader may find there collected a multitude of curious and authentic facts, which will well reward his attention. Sir Walter Scott, in his work on *Demonology*, has also brought together from the vast stores of his reading a yet greater variety; but they are less skilfully arranged, and not sufficiently distinguished from the legends and tales of romance, in which that celebrated writer delights, to furnish the same valuable instruction. In the brief and judicious summary of Mr. Upham, we see, that from the days of the *Witch of Endor*, through the fabulous periods of heathen antiquity to the commencement of the Christian era, and thence amidst the superstitions of the Romish Church, and under the influence of the perverted 'doctrine of devils,' almost to the present time, there have never been wanting

believers in witchcraft, or victims to its delusion. The number of these victims in Europe, at various periods, far exceeded, as did the spirit of persecution, any thing known or imagined in this country, in which, from the beginning to the end of the fanaticism, only twenty persons were actually put to death.\* But in 1484, after Pope Innocent the Eighth had issued his bull for the punishment of persons suspected of witchcraft, multitudes became its victims. 'Forty-one aged females,' says Mr. Upham, 'were consigned to the flames in one nation, and, not long after, one hundred were burned in the devoted valleys of Piedmont; forty-eight were burned in Ravensburg in five years; and in the year 1515, five hundred were burned at Geneva, in three months!'—'In 1576, seventeen or eighteen were condemned in Essex, in England,' while in France, it is affirmed, though the authority is not given, that 'a single judge, Remigius, condemned and burned nine hundred within fifteen years, from 1580 to 1595, in the single district of Lorraine; and as many more fled out of the country' to escape the fury of the persecution, so that 'whole villages were depopulated.' 'During the whole of the sixteenth century,' adds our author, 'there were executions for witchcraft in all civilized countries. More than two hundred were hanged in England;' 'several only a few years before the proceedings commenced in Salem;' but, it is worthy of remark, 'a considerable number in various parts of Great Britain some years after the prosecutions had entirely ceased in America.'

It has been said, that the first impulse to the prosecution of witchcraft in this country was given by certain passages selected and studiously circulated from the works of Richard Baxter. There is no doubt of his firm faith in the doctrine. Mr. Upham states, that he wrote his book, entitled 'The Certainty of the World of Spirits,' for the special purpose

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\* To those of our readers, who may not have read these Lectures, the following summary, given by Mr. Upham, of the exact extent of this calamity will be acceptable.

'During the prevalence of this fanaticism, twenty persons lost their lives by the hand of the executioner;'—'most of these persons were advanced in years, and many of them left large families of children;'—eight, whose names and places of residence are also given, 'were condemned to death, but did not suffer. Besides these, fifty-five persons escaped death by confessing themselves guilty, one hundred and fifty were in prison, and more than two hundred others were accused.' pp. 34, 35.



of confirming and diffusing the belief; and that he kept up a correspondence with the Mathers, both the father and son, stimulating and encouraging them in their proceedings against certain witches in Boston. We have also been told, on an authority entitled to respect, that the first effectual step to the checking of this delusion was the influence of an opinion of the excellent Dr. Edmund Calamy, who, alarmed at the dreadful extent to which the persecutions were carried, expressed his belief, that 'it was possible even for good men to be bewitched.'

That good men, even the greatest and the best, may be deluded, the whole history we have been considering is one continued proof. And if in these imperfect remarks we have found ourselves compelled, however reluctantly, to concur with the writer in his censures of one so prominent as was Dr. Mather, it is not because he was deceived, for almost all others were deceived with him; or because he was urgent for measures, from which few had the wisdom or the courage to dissent; \* but because he was willing to convert a general delusion into an instrument of selfish ambition; and because, after the delusion had past, and the injustice and cruelty of the whole proceedings were manifest, he neither seemed to repent of them, nor to share in the general solicitude to atone for them.

To us of the present day it may seem impossible, that such a delusion could again prevail; or that, even if it should, it could be followed by such bitter persecutions on the one hand, or, on the other, by such appalling sufferings. Happily the advancing lights of philosophy and of religion leave us to good hopes. The phenomena of the physical world have been so fully explained, that what was once mysterious, or was ascribed to preternatural influences, is now easily understood,

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\* Among the very few, who have vindicated their claims to this distinction, by publicly maintaining their dissent at the time, Mr. Upham mentions with deserved respect the truly revered and learned Samuel Willard, of the Old South in Boston, author of the 'Body of Divinity,' and one of the most esteemed ministers of his times; and Major Saltonstall, who publicly expressed his disapprobation by retiring from his seat on the bench. This noble conduct, however, was maintained at fearful hazards; for the accusers repeatedly cried out upon Mr. Willard, and seemed to experience a fiend-like satisfaction in the thought of bringing infamy and death upon the best and most honored citizens of the colonies. See *Lectures*, p. 31.

as among the familiar operations of nature. The 'doctrine of Devils,' also, if it still exists in its earlier forms, is stripped of most of its absurdities; and though men may not yet be ready to admit, what beyond all comparison is the most alarming truth, that within their own hearts, even their sinful and cherished lusts, are the 'Satans' of their own creation, whom they have most to dread; — yet they have ceased to invest the prince of darkness with a rival sovereignty, believing that the spirits are in subjection to the Father of spirits, and that the devils also believe and tremble.

But though we may not apprehend the same delusions, it were presumptuous indeed to expect freedom from all others. The sources of error remain, though the particular forms of it may change. They are constantly varying with the changes of society. If there is a fanaticism of superstition, let it not be forgotten, that there is also the fanaticism of unbelief; and we have recently seen it asserted, what only the fool can say in his heart, that the faith of the existence of a God can exert no good influence on the virtue or happiness of men. Who can question too, that the same love of the marvellous, the same indulgence of an uncontrolled imagination, or even of a perverted curiosity; the same passion for power in ministers or in rulers; the same readiness to turn popular excitements into instruments of personal advancement, may produce at this day evils not less deplorable than those, which in the days of our fathers seemed the fruit only of religious fanaticism? It is the improvement we should make of this history, and it is among the sound practical instructions which the writer himself deduces from it, and enforces with the eloquence of conviction, that there is no safety, but in simple truth; — that when men suffer their imaginations to usurp the place of reason, or their passions to be inflamed by sympathy, especially by that most dangerous form of it, party spirit, they may 'work a work,' which, in its consequences to themselves or to others, they 'would not believe, though a man should tell it them.' The history of the present day, not less in its secular than in its religious fervors, affords, we fear, but too exact an illustration of all this. The spirit of witchcraft is abroad in its furious zeal, in its obtrusive inquisitions, and its stern denunciations. It assumes to itself to try the spirits, and according to its own standard to pronounce men friends or enemies of order, justice, and the

laws. 'Its leading features,' says Mr. Upham, whose remarks, though written before the full developement of the transactions to which we refer, are so excellent, that we adopt them as the best possible expression of our meaning, — 'its leading features and most striking aspects have been repeated in places, where witches and the interference of supernatural beings are never thought of. For whenever a community gives way to its passions and spurns the admonitions and casts off the restraints of reason, there is a delusion, that can hardly be described in any other phrase. We cannot glance our eye over the face of our country without beholding such scenes; and so long as they are exhibited, so long as we permit ourselves to invest objects of little or no real importance with such an inordinate imaginary interest, that we are ready to go to every extremity rather than relinquish them, we are following in the footsteps of our fanatical ancestors. It would be wiser to direct our ridicule and reproaches to the delusions of our own times, rather than to those of a previous age; and it becomes us to treat with charity and mercy, the failings of our predecessors, at least until we have ceased to repeat and imitate them.'

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ART. VIII. — *Travels in Malta and Sicily, with Sketches of Gibraltar in 1827.* By ANDREW BIGELOW, Author of 'Leaves from a Journal in North Britain and Ireland.' Boston. 1831. Carter, Hendee, & Babcock. 8vo. pp. 550.

THERE are no books, the rapid multiplication of which is to be regarded with so much forbearance, as books of travels. The face of things, the manners, customs, and institutions in many countries in Europe and South America have been changed so frequently and materially, during the last thirty or forty years, that it is only from the recent traveller we can learn their present condition. It is an advantage, also, when we can avail ourselves of the observations and researches in foreign countries of one who has been brought up among us; partly because he will be curious in those matters which, from similarity of education and circumstances, will be most likely to interest us, and partly because his comparisons and

illustrations will generally be borrowed from places and events, with which we are familiar. Mr. Bigelow has travelled before, and is favorably known to the public by his work on North Britain and Ireland, which was in such esteem abroad as to be reprinted in Edinburgh, and noticed and praised in several of the English periodical journals. His style in this as well as in his former publications is marked by a glow of patriotism, and of sincere and rational piety, which must give the work a peculiar attraction to the religiously disposed, at the same time that his various information, and the literary merit of the narrative portions, must gratify the scholar and general reader. In the more ornate and ambitious passages we do not think Mr. Bigelow equally happy. He has also committed the serious error of making his book too large, an error the less excusable, because it has arisen, for the most part, from his introducing irrelevant matter, sometimes of too private or personal a nature, which it would have been better on every account to omit. We hope that in this book-making age it will soon be universally adopted as a canon of criticism in regard to books of travels, that the writer shall confine himself strictly and religiously to what has passed under his own observation.

Mr. Bigelow sailed from Boston, November 28, 1826, and landed at Gibraltar after a voyage of forty days, on the incidents of which he dwells with more particularity than was necessary. Here he stayed about two weeks, and his description of this celebrated fortress is one of the fullest and most graphic which we have seen. Passing up the Mediterranean, he arrived, February 1st, at La Valetta, in Malta, where he resided for more than a month, and appears to have occupied himself most industriously in studying the character, habits, and institutions of the people. Thence, March 8th, he sailed for Sicily, and visited the most remarkable places on that island, of some of which, particularly of Dionysius's Ear and Mount Ætna, he has given us not only a full description, but careful and accurate drawings and charts. His journal closes, March 25th, on quitting the harbour of Messina for Naples.

The following account of the Maltese clergy presents a favorable specimen of Mr. Bigelow's success in light and humorous description.

'As for the priests themselves, their number is "Legion, for



it is many." I meet them at every turn; I mean, including the friars, — black, white, and gray. I know it is common to rail against this order of men as being a race of gourmands; yet it is not for the sake of joining in an idle cry, but of testifying to impressions gathered by my own eyes, when I assert, that a better conditioned set of persons I never beheld. Their fat, sleek visages, and plump, well-fed frames betoken, that whatever becomes of others, they take good care of themselves. I have seen them of all ages, from fourscore years down to four; for even children are dedicated to the priesthood, and once dedicated, they wear the self-same garb in shape and color as do their superiors in years.

'A more whimsical dress than this professional costume, when put upon boys and striplings, can hardly be conceived. It consists of a large cocked or three-cornered hat, the brim of which is unusually broad, — a full skirted coat, ornamented with a single row of buttons, and made rounding from the waist downwards, like a Quaker's, — a long, old-fashioned vest, buttoned to the chin, — tight small-clothes and black hose, silk or worsted, — shoes high on the instep, with monstrous buckles, — a black leathern stock about the neck, and over it a frill of white lawn made to lap close. In cold or wet weather a black cover-all, something like the cloaks of the old Puritan clergy of New England, is added. The heads of these clerical sprigs are partly shaved, in imitation of their seniors.

'It is not without a smile that such figures are seen brushing through the streets. To call them priestlings would be by no means a sufficient diminutive. They are Tom Thumbs in ecclesiastical livery, and can scarcely be distinguished sometimes as they move along under their broad-spreading equilaterals. Their appearance is certainly a burlesque on the Catholic priesthood.

'There are several grades, however, for these "babes and sucklings" to pass through, ere they are formally fraternized. At sundry periods of life, — as for instance ten, fifteen, eighteen, or twenty-one years of age, — they are interrogated and examined afresh in respect to their ultimate purpose; and if dissatisfied with the choice made for them by their parents, they are at liberty, on coming to their majority, to withdraw from the clerical ranks. But this seldom happens. I cannot find, on careful inquiry, that they are taught much; certainly, very little of useful knowledge. I express but the sober sense of intelligent lay Catholics themselves, when I say that, in general, the priests, young and old, are scandalously ignorant. They pick up a smattering of Latin, and are taught the drill

of church forms and ministrations. A little of scholastic divinity and some scraps of ecclesiastical history are then ground into them ; and they are turned out for the service of the altar.' — pp. 129, 130.

Of the prospects of the missionary cause in the Levant Mr. Bigelow speaks with candor and sobriety. At Malta he says ;

'The American missionary on the island, — who is a sensible man of undoubted piety, and whose worth I am happy in publicly acknowledging, — has applied himself industriously to his vocation. It consists in aiding the translation of Tracts, chiefly into Italian, in concert with an intelligent native Maltese, — overseeing the printing and subsequent disposal of them, — and occasionally preaching to a small society of dissenting Protestants in connexion with a worthy pastor of the Methodist persuasion. The printing-office is in his own house ; the mechanical duties of which have been in charge of another American ; but as he is about returning to the United States, they will devolve on a Maltese already trained for that purpose. Mr. T —, the missionary to whom I have alluded, has resided here five years, having never joined his brethren on the Palestine station settled at Beirout. During this period he has printed about seventy Tracts, averaging a thousand copies each. They are well executed, and done up with neat covers, the object being to make them as attractive in appearance as may be, with a due regard to economy. The cheapness of the work is surprising ; as the general cost, — including translating, paper, ink, printing, and binding, — does not much exceed one mill a page ; or about ten pages are afforded for a ha'penny. A few of the Tracts are printed in Romaic. It gave me pleasure to see in the American Repository that invaluable little treatise, Scougal's "Life of God in the Soul of Man," in its Grecian dress, just ready to be introduced to the natives of the Archipelago.' — pp. 200, 201.

Again he says ;

'There is a species of romance which attaches itself, in certain minds, to the contemplation of the efforts and endurances of a foreign missionary. But let me tell them, there is no romance in the actual trial. If a missionary comes to the Levant, however high-blown his previous expectations, his enthusiasm would soon cool. I have talked with gentlemen here, and they speak very rationally and dispassionately on the subject. Theirs is a sober mood. They toil on, — patiently toil, — but with a damp on their spirits. Apart from the labors of the

press, they have not made above a score of converts to their views of Christianity, by oral and pulpit instruction, out of all the crowded population of Malta; and those converts are almost to a man from the Catholic classes.' — pp. 204, 205.

Mr Bigelow, in the Preface, undertakes to vindicate the frequent and general censures, which he finds occasion to pass on the Catholic Church, and the English nation or government. Doubtless there is much weight in some of his suggestions, but still, in regard to the Catholics, it is perfectly fair, as it seems to us, that they should insist on our making a distinction between the policy which has been connected with their church in different ages and countries, and the church itself. So, too, in regard to the measures of the English government respecting their distant dependencies, it is clear that a stay of a few days in a strange land will not enable the most astute and sagacious observer to ascertain the practicability or expediency of reformatory measures, which may strike him, at first sight, as easy and all-important. On this subject it is only necessary to recollect the feelings with which every body in this country reads the hasty criticisms and strictures of the British tourists on our own customs and institutions. It would be doing Mr. Bigelow injustice, however, to compare his work with theirs in this respect. But little is here known of the present condition of the interesting places visited by him; and for this reason, as well as for the general ability and fidelity of his book, notwithstanding occasional blemishes, we presume and hope that it will find its way into extensive circulation.

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ART. IX. — *Thoughts on Man, his Nature, Productions, and Discoveries. Interspersed with some Particulars respecting the Author.* By WILLIAM GODWIN. London. 1831. 8vo. pp. 479.

MR. GODWIN'S answer to Malthus, which appeared in 1820, and still more recently his 'History of the Commonwealth,' have not sustained the reputation which he acquired early in life, as the author of an 'Enquiry concerning Political Justice,' and of some philosophical novels. We took up his 'Thoughts

on Man,' therefore, with small expectations ; but these, we are bound to say, have been more than answered. Many of the Essays are ingenious and interesting ; a good spirit pervades the work ; and there are fewer passages than in any of his former writings, which need give offence to the friends of religion and a pure and strict morality. On some subjects, indeed, his testimony is more valuable for the very reason, that it may be regarded almost in the light of a confession wrung from the adverse party.

In his Preface he says ;

' In the ensuing volume I have attempted to give a defined and permanent form to a variety of thoughts, which have occurred to my mind in the course of thirty-four years, it being so long since I published a volume, entitled, "The Enquirer,"—thoughts, which, if they have presented themselves to other men, have, at least, so far as I am aware, never been given to the public through the medium of the press. During a part of this period I had remained to a considerable degree unoccupied in my character of an author, and had delivered little to the press that bore my name.—And I beg the reader to believe, that, since I entered, in 1791, upon that which may be considered as my vocation in life, I have scarcely in any instance contributed a page to any periodical miscellany.'—p. iii.

The work consists of twenty-three Essays on the following topics : Of Body and Mind,—The Prologue. Of the Distribution of Talents. Of Intellectual Abortion. Of the Durability of Human Achievements and Productions. Of the Rebelliousness of Man. Of Human Innocence. Of the Duration of Human Life. Of Human Vegetation. Of Leisure. Of Imitation and Invention. Of Self-Love and Benevolence. Of the Liberty of Human Actions. Of Belief. Of Youth and Age. Of Love and Friendship. Of Frankness and Reserve. Of Ballot. Of Diffidence. Of Self-Complacency. Of Phrenology. Of Astronomy. Of the Material Universe. Of Human Virtue,—The Epilogue. On such subjects the intelligent reader, notwithstanding the somewhat boastful declaration in the Preface, will not of course expect much that is, strictly speaking, original. All that we can do is to give a few passages, which seem to us to have the best claims to that character, or to be peculiarly interesting or valuable for other reasons.



The following remarks on education are just, and happily expressed.

‘In the first place, as has been already observed, it is the most difficult thing in the world for the schoolmaster to inspire into his pupil the desire to do his best. An overwhelming majority of lads at school are in their secret hearts rebels to the discipline under which they are placed. The instructor draws one way, and the pupil another. The object of the latter is to find out how he may escape censure and punishment with the smallest expense of scholastic application. He looks at the task that is set him, without the most distant desire of improvement, but with alienated and averted eye. And, where this is the case, the wonder is not that he does not make a brilliant figure. It is rather an evidence of the slavish and subservient spirit incident to the majority of human beings, that he learns any thing. Certainly the schoolmaster, who judges of the powers of his pupil’s mind by the progress he makes in what he would most gladly be excused from learning, must be expected perpetually to fall into the most egregious mistakes.

‘The true test of the capacity of the individual, is where the desire to succeed, and accomplish something effective, is already awakened in the youthful mind. Whoever has found out what it is in which he is qualified to excel, from that moment becomes a new creature. The general torpor and sleep of the soul, which is incident to the vast multitude of the human species, is departed from him. We begin, from the hour in which our limbs are enabled to exert themselves freely, with a puerile love of sport. Amusement is the order of the day. But no one was ever so fond of play, that he had not also his serious moments. Every human creature perhaps is sensible to the stimulus of ambition. He is delighted with the thought that he also shall be somebody, and not a mere undistinguished pawn, destined to fill up a square in the chess-board of human society. He wishes to be thought something of, and to be gazed upon. Nor is it merely the wish to be admired that excites him: he acts, that he may be satisfied with himself. Self-respect is a sentiment dear to every heart. The emotion can with difficulty be done justice to, that a man feels, who is conscious that he is breathing his true element, that every stroke that he strikes will have the effect he designs, that he has an object before him, and every moment approaches nearer to that object. Before, he was wrapped in an opaque cloud, saw nothing distinctly, and struck this way and that at hazard like a blind man. But now the sun of understanding

has risen upon him; and every step that he takes, he advances with an assured and undoubting confidence.

'It is an admirable remark, that the book which we read at the very time that we felt a desire to read it, affords us ten times the improvement, that we should have derived from it when it was taken up by us as a task. It is just so with the man who chooses his occupation, and feels assured that that about which he is occupied is his true and native field. Compare this person with the boy that studies the classics, or arithmetic, or any thing else, with a secret disinclination, and, as Shakespear expresses it, "creeps like snail, unwillingly, to school." They do not seem as if they belonged to the same species.' — pp. 34 – 36.

In the Essay on Intellectual Abortion there are many striking observations, from which, however, we can give but a single extract.

'Others there are that are turned aside from the career they might have accomplished, by a visionary and impracticable fastidiousness. They can find nothing that possesses all the requisites that should fix their choice, nothing so good that should authorize them to present it to public observation, and enable them to offer it to their contemporaries as something that we should "not willingly let die." They begin often; but nothing they produce appears to them such as that they should say of it, "Let this stand." Or they never begin, none of their thoughts being judged by them to be altogether such as to merit the being preserved. They have a microscopic eye, and discern faults unworthy to be tolerated, in that in which the critic himself might perceive nothing but beauty.

'These phenomena have introduced a maxim which is current with many, that the men who write nothing, and bequeath no record of themselves to posterity, are not unfrequently of larger *calibre*, and more gigantic standard of soul, than such as have inscribed their names upon the columns of the temple of Fame. And certain it is, that there are extraordinary instances which appear in some degree to countenance this assertion. Many men are remembered as authors, who seem to have owed the permanence of their reputation rather to fortune than merit. They were daring, and stepped into a niche that was left in the gallery of art or of science, where others of higher qualifications, but of unconquerable modesty, held back. At the same time persons, whose destiny caused them to live among the *élite* of an age, have seen reason to confess that they have heard such talk, such glorious and unpremeditated discourse, from men whose thoughts melted away with

the breath that uttered them, as the wisest of their vaunted contemporary authors would in vain have sought to rival.' — 62 — 64.

We were surprised to find Mr. Godwin differing from the popular party in his own country on the subject of Ballot, and opposing it on grounds which must strike every one, we should think, as weak and fallacious. In the *Essay on the Material Universe*, he combats with better success the theory of those who contend, that Berkeley's argument to disprove the existence of material objects, may be applied with equal force to disprove the existence of independent minds.

'Observe then,' he says, 'the difference between my acquaintance with the phenomena of the material universe, and with the individuals of my own species. The former say nothing to me; they are a series of events and no more; I cannot penetrate into their causes; that which gives rise to my sensations, may or may not be similar to the sensations themselves. The follower of Berkeley or Newton has satisfied himself in the negative.

'But the case is very different in my intercourse with my fellow-men. Agreeably to the statement already made, I know the reality of human nature; for I feel the particulars that constitute it within myself. The impressions I receive from that intercourse say something to me; for they talk to me of beings like myself. My own existence becomes multiplied in *infinitum*. Of the possibility of matter I know nothing; but with the possibility of mind I am acquainted; for I am myself an example. I am amazed at the consistency and systematic succession of the phenomena of the material universe; though I cannot penetrate the veil which presents itself to my grosser sense, nor see effects in their causes. But I can see, in other words, I have the most cogent reasons to believe in, the causes of the phenomena that occur in my apparent intercourse with my fellow-men. What solution so natural, as that they are produced by beings like myself, the duplicates, with certain variations, of what I feel within me?

'The belief in the reality of matter explains nothing. Supposing it to exist, if Newton is right, no particle of extraneous matter ever touched the matter of my body; and therefore it is not just to regard it as the cause of my sensations. It would amount to no more than two systems going on at the same time by a preëstablished harmony, but totally independent of and disjointed from each other.

'But the belief in the existence of our fellow-men explains much. It makes level before us the wonder of the method of

their proceedings, and affords an obvious reason why they should be in so many respects like our own. If I dismiss from my creed the existence of inert matter, I lose nothing. The phenomena, the train of antecedents and consequents, remain as before ; and this is all that I am truly concerned with. But take away the existence of my fellow-men ; and you reduce all that is, and all that I experience, to a senseless mummery. " You take my life, taking the thing whereon I live." — pp. 447 — 449.

The notices of the author's own life and studies are not so numerous nor so interesting, as we were led to expect from the title-page. The following passage is among the most valuable, as it helps to explain the early bias which his mind appears to have taken towards skepticism and paradox.

' One of the earliest passions of my mind was the love of truth and sound opinion. " Why should I," such was the language of my solitary meditations, " because I was born in a certain degree of latitude, in a certain century, in a country where certain institutions prevail, and of parents professing a certain faith, take it for granted that all this is right ? — This is matter of accident. " Time and chance happeneth to all : " and I, the thinking principle within me, might, if such had been the order of events, have been born under circumstances the very reverse of those under which I was born. I will not, if I can help it, be the creature of accident ; I will not, like a shuttle-cock, be at the disposal of every impulse that is given me." I felt a certain disdain for the being thus directed ; I could not endure the idea of being made a fool of, and of taking every *ignis fatuus* for a guide, and every stray notion, the meteor of the day, for everlasting truth. I am the person, spoken of in a preceding Essay, who early said to Truth, " Go on : whithersoever thou leadest, I am prepared to follow."

' During my college-life therefore, I read all sorts of books, on every side of any important question, or that were thrown in my way, that I could hear of. But the very passion that determined me to this mode of proceeding, made me wary and circumspect in coming to a conclusion. I knew that it would, if any thing, be a more censurable and contemptible act, to yield to every seducing novelty, than to adhere obstinately to a prejudice because it had been instilled into me in youth. I was therefore slow of conviction, and by no means " given to change." I never willingly parted with a suggestion that was unexpectedly furnished to me ; but I examined it again and again, before I consented that it should enter into the set of my principles.



‘In proportion however as I became acquainted with truth, or what appeared to me to be truth, I was like what I have read of Melancthon, who, when he was first converted to the tenets of Luther, became eager to go into all companies, that he might make them partakers of the same inestimable treasures, and set before them evidence that was to him irresistible.’ — pp. 333 – 335.

There are but too many indelible traces in the work before us of the degrading views of the human soul, and man’s prospects, which had their origin in French philosophy, and the French Revolution. We rejoice, however, in occasional indications, like the following, of irrepressible aspirations after something better and holier.

‘Man is a godlike being. We launch ourselves in conceit into illimitable space, and take up our rest beyond the fixed stars. We proceed without impediment from country to country, and from century to century, through all the ages of the past, and through the vast creation of the imaginable future. We spurn at the bounds of time and space; nor would the thought be less futile that imagines to imprison the mind within the limits of the body, than the attempt of the booby clown who is said within a thick hedge to have plotted to shut in the flight of an eagle.

‘We never find our attention called to any particular part or member of the body, except when there is somewhat amiss in that part or member. And, in like manner as we do not think of any one part or member in particular, so neither do we consider our entire microcosm and frame. The body is apprehended as no more important and of intimate connexion to a man engaged in a train of reflections, than the house or apartment in which he dwells. The mind may aptly be described under the denomination of the “stranger at home.” — pp. 9, 10.

‘Hence it is that unenlightened man, in almost all ages and countries, has been induced, independently of divine revelation, to regard death, the most awful event to which we are subject, as not being the termination of his existence. We see the body of our friend become insensible, and remain without motion, or any external indication of what we call life. We can shut it up in an apartment, and visit it from day to day. If we had perseverance enough, and could so far conquer the repugnance and humiliating feeling with which the experiment would be attended, we might follow step by step the process of decomposition and putrefaction, and observe by what degrees the “dust returned unto earth as it was.” But, in spite of this

demonstration of the senses, man still believes that there is something in him that lives after death. The mind is so infinitely superior in character to this case of flesh that incloses it, that he cannot persuade himself that it and the body perish together." — pp. 14, 15.

We note with increasing interest the appearance of passages like these in the writings of professed skeptics and infidels. The coarse and bald atheism, which was once affected by minds from whom better things might have been expected, has lost the attraction which it derived for a time from novelty, and from being associated with courage and daring, and a spirit of resistance to tyrannical impositions. The consequence will be, the consequence has been, that enlightened men, the friends of humanity and freedom, every where are coming to look on the wretched delusion with unmixed disgust and horror. Atheism, from being almost exclusively a disease of enthusiastic and cultivated minds, has become almost exclusively the disease of ignorant and base minds. It may show itself in the lower classes, but it has been abandoned by the higher; it is ignorance and conceit tricking themselves in the miserable sophistries which the philosophy that invented them has long since discarded.

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ART. X. — *Remains of the Rev. EDMUND D. GRIFFIN*, compiled by FRANCIS GRIFFIN : with a Biographical Memoir of the Deceased, by the Rev. JOHN M'VICKAR, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, &c., in Columbia College. In 2 volumes. New York. 1831. pp. 456 and 466.

WE know nothing of Mr. Griffin but from the work before us. Every thing that is here presented to us is presented for the first time. The fine head, that fronts the title-page, is one that revives no recollections in our minds. We had never even heard the name of the original. Nor is this singular. He lived at a distance from us, and died young. He had but just entered into the public duties, which his talents and zeal had made various, when he was suddenly taken away from

them all. But sympathy has something electric about it that disregards distance, and perhaps there is more pleasure in introducing the merits of an accomplished stranger into our own circle, than in recommending to others a familiar friend. It is from this impulse that we are led to speak of these volumes.

Mr. Griffin appears to be one of that beautiful company, which we are always at a loss whether to call a small or a numerous one. It is composed of the richly gifted and early lost. It is small, if we consider only the names of those, who have made themselves an after-life in the remembrance of mankind. That must of course be small. The eminent must always be few. Such is the necessity of things, at least in this world of relations. But the class is numerous, if we count it according to the strength of our own attachments, imaginations, and expectancies,—the many fond regrets that are sure to accompany the departure of what we gloried and trusted in,—and the many brilliant and reasonably cherished hopes, that it pleases God often to destroy. It is a sentiment deeply fixed in our nature, that what is prematurely excellent is not destined to last. The sentiment is almost as old as human records, yet as tender as the wounded heart under its latest bereavement. It is written among the precepts of religious consolation, and heard among the daily complaints of human disappointment. ‘Whom the Gods love die young,’ said a Greek poet of unknown antiquity. Another writer, equally unknown, but of far worthier and holier celebrity, has repeated the same thing: ‘He pleased God and was beloved of him, so that he was translated;—yea, speedily was he taken away.’ We are reminded of these two sayings, one of Gentile and the other of Jewish origin,—showing that the root of both is in our common humanity,—by the appearance of these volumes. We believe that the spirit which speaks in them is one, with which those sayings have a close connexion and prophecy. We are ready to acknowledge it as possessed of rare endowments, and to utter our lament over what appears to our imperfect sight its untimely departure. We respect the feelings, that have prompted those who were most familiar with it while it was here, to raise this monument to it now that it is gone;—not of lifeless marbles or senseless shrubbery, but of those more durable materials, its own affections and thoughts. We honor the

pious wish to spread the knowledge of an accomplished son and brother beyond the limits of his immediate sphere of activity and love, and thus give a wider celebrity to a cherished name.

The 'Biographical Memoir,' with which the volumes begin, is an uncommonly interesting sketch of its subject. It was prepared by a gentleman, who witnessed and enjoyed the extraordinary promise which he gave in his school days, by the quickness of his abilities, the purity of his character, and his persevering zeal; and it cannot well be read by any young man, without inspiring the love at least, if not the emulation, of kindred excellencies. It is indeed a lovely picture of an ambitious but ingenuous youth, who never disappointed his friends but when he died, and whose filial duty and fraternal affection render doubly appropriate the tribute, that this work is meant to pay to his memory.

The principal and much the most agreeable part of these 'Remains,' is a tour through Italy and Switzerland, in the year 1829. It is written in a free and animated manner, not entering into tedious details, but presenting what chiefly engaged the mind of the traveller, distinctly to the reader. They who have been ramblers, like him, over those lands of enchantment, where nature has lavished all her majesty and beauty, and art exhibits its most splendid marvels, and the soul is made to overflow with sentiments and reflections, such as can be felt in their fulness nowhere besides, will take pleasure in retracing their steps with so intelligent and enthusiastic a companion. While they, who can visit the objects and scenes that are most eagerly sought abroad, only through the relations of another as they sit at home, and whose fancy must supply the place of the returned voyager's recollections, will scarcely find any where so much information so briefly and feelingly conveyed, as in this unpretending but spirited journal.

The next considerable portion of the work is made up of fragments from a course of Lectures on Roman, Italian, and English literature. These lectures were composed at a call wholly unexpected, immediately after his arrival from Europe, and delivered from the chair of the Rev. Professor M'Vickar, in Columbia College. 'They continued,' says his biographer, 'through the months of May and June, being prepared, written out, and delivered, almost it may be said at



the same moment. They extend to more than three hundred pages octavo; a degree of manual as well as intellectual labor, not often paralleled; and when coupled with the recollection of it being a voluntary unbought service, taken up without premeditation, in the very moment of return, carried on without aid, and completed in the midst of all the interruptions incident to such a period of congratulation, — it may be said without exaggeration, that they remain a noble monument of promptitude, diligence, and knowledge, and afford a rich sample of what might have been effected by him had life been spared.' From the extracts that are presented to us, we do not wonder at the admiration with which this effort of his was received. They show a tasteful mind, stored with knowledge, and trained to habits of reflection.

His style is not wholly free, perhaps, from those faults, which easily beset a young and ardent writer, who composes rapidly and with a dangerous facility; but it always flows on with a clear and generous current. The severer taste of maturer life, if he had been spared to see it, would doubtless have chastened that tendency to exuberance, which is after all one of the failings of genius. We have room but for a single quotation, which will give our readers a favorable though a very fair specimen of his talent in description.

'It was on the morning of our leaving Turin, that I had a better view than on any preceding occasion, of the magnificent scenery with which it is surrounded. Starting at 6 o'clock, we soon arrived at the bridge of the Po, and I looked of course for the mountains. My hope of seeing them was but small, as day had only just begun to break. However, far in the horizon, opposed to the coming sun, I perceived a faint red, which served to mark their outline. While the rest of the world was still buried in night, they were privileged to catch the beams of day. By and by their color warmed into a rich roseate hue, which contrasted beautifully with the violet tint of the mist that lay in darkness at their feet. As morning advanced, a red hot glow succeeded, and the vast amphitheatre of Piedmont was, in its whole western section, lighted up with an ineffable and overwhelming radiance. Meanwhile the eastern horizon was not unworthy of attention. The golden hues of an Italian sky formed a magnificent back-ground, against which were relieved the towers of the Superga, and the picturesque outline of the neighbouring hills. Scarcely had I time to contemplate this part of the scene and turn towards the mountains, before their

aspect was again changed. The mist had fallen like a curtain at their feet, and the precarious tints of dawn had ripened into a twilight gray. The mountains themselves, in their whole vast extent, now seemed a wall of fire. I am using no figure of rhetoric, and wish to be understood literally. Iron in the furnace could not have glowed with an intenser red, than did those stupendous masses in the rays of morning. Never did I witness a scene of such transcendent and overwhelming magnificence. A wall of fire, seeming almost as extensive as half the circumference of earth, its battlements and pyramids and towers shooting upwards into heaven, as if preparing to inflame those elevated regions; and above and still beyond, new spires catching the same fiery radiance, the bases of the mountains clothed in vapor, the valley pervaded with the gray mist of twilight, and the distant town relieved against this brilliant background, the majestic river, the rich eastern sky, composed a landscape which brought the tears into my eyes, and closing my lips in silence, precluded even the ordinary expressions of delight.' — Vol. i. p. 148.

We offer these volumes a welcome. There are some redundancies, especially in the frequent and minute descriptions of paintings which are not to be described. But we are sure that the influence which the book is suited to produce is a pure and good one. The author writes in the spirit of a scholar though without the least pedantry, and of one who is deeply enamoured of all the forms of beauty and good. Such a spirit can never display itself in vain.

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